

THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENT
AS AN
EDUCATIONAL FACTOR IN INDIA

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The Nagpada Neighbourhood House, Bombay



"In the Nagpada Neighbourhood we have Muslims, Hindus, Jews, Christians, well-to-do, paupers, saints and sinners."

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AS AN
EDUCATIONAL FACTOR IN INDIA

BY

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NAGPADA NEIGHBOURHOOD HOUSE, BOMBAY

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PREFACE.

THE purpose of this little book is to provide an introduction to the Settlement Movement, with the principal emphasis upon the educational contribution of the settlement. It draws largely from settlement experience in other lands and endeavours to indicate how this experience may be applied to India. To students of the Settlement Movement, this study may seem extremely elementary, but for beginners in the field, it will, I believe, contain some worthwhile suggestions. It is my hope that it may call forth some constructive action.

*The Nagpada Neighbourhood House,
Bombay, June 1, 1930.*

C. M.

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CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT.*

THE Social Settlement Movement was an outgrowth of the new humanitarianism which emerged in England during the second half of the 18th Century. It was a natural sequence of the desire of the privileged to give of their time and strength that they might share their best with the working classes. It numbers among its forerunners such well-known names as John Howard, William Wilberforce, Lord Shaftesbury, Robert Owen, Thomas Chalmers, Thomas Carlyle, Charles Dickens, and the Christian Socialist Group—Maurice, Kingsley, Ludlow, Hughes, Neal and Furnival. By 1850 there was a widespread feeling that the universities should be in closer touch with industrial life and that university men should assume definite public responsibilities. So in 1873, the University of Cambridge adopted a plan of extension lectures in manufacturing towns. The Universities of Oxford and London followed, and a new point of contact was established between the universities and the workers.

The first actual settlement pioneer was an Oxford man by the name of Edward Denison. Denison, in order to fit himself more adequately for his proposed political career, became a worker of the *London Society for the Relief of Distress*, though he was early convinced that the problem of poverty could never be met simply by handing out doles. In 1867 he decided to take up his residence in the district in which he worked, believing that the less favoured neighbourhoods offered large opportunities to citizens who had time to give to public affairs. He taught in a night school, helped the sick and endeavoured to keep the local authorities up to the mark. "I shall drive the Sanitary Inspector

*The historical material in this chapter is summarised from Chapters I–VI, in *The Settlement Horizon*, by R. A. Woods and A. J. Kennedy (published by the Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1922).

to put the Act against overcrowding in force," he writes, "with regard to some houses in which there have been as many as eight and ten bodies occupying one room. It is not surprising that the street in which this occurs has for months been full of small-pox, scarlet fever and typhus..... These are the sort of evils which, where there are no resident gentry, grow to a height almost incredible, and on which the remedial presence of a gentleman known to be on the alert is inestimable."

John Richard Green and John Ruskin became interested in Denison's work, and it was only the failure of Denison's health which prevented the first University Settlement from being founded in 1868 instead of 1884.

In the meantime the Church was taking an increasing interest in the application of Christianity to social problems. In 1867, a recent Oxford graduate, by the name of Samuel A. Barnett, became curate of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, in London, where he was able to be of assistance to Miss Octavia Hill in her effort to improve general conditions in the tenements, through the influence of lady rent-collectors. Five years later Mr. Barnett became the vicar of St. Jude's Whitechapel, which was described by the Bishop of London as the "wretchedest parish in the diocese."

In Whitechapel, Mr. Barnett at once began to take an active interest in bettering the conditions of the people. He was active in poor relief, in education, and in improving the moral life of the neighbourhood. On his frequent visits to Oxford he enlisted the interest of young college men, encouraging them to visit his home and to see for themselves the opportunities for service among the poor. Some stayed for shorter and some for longer periods, making themselves useful in various ways.

In 1883, a group of young men at St. John's College, Cambridge, asked Mr. Barnett's assistance in drafting a scheme for a non-sectarian educational institution for working people. In his reply, Mr. Barnett pointed

out that "English local government is based on the assumption of a responsible privileged class," and suggested that "a complement of educated people be provided artificially in those regions where the movement of modern civilization has drawn off the resourceful citizenship of the district." He suggested that a house might be hired in an industrial neighbourhood, where men could live and study, and discover at first hand working-class problems. Expanding his ideas in a paper read at St. John's College, Oxford, Mr. Barnett emphasised that in any scheme of social reform, helper and helped must be brought into friendly relations.

Both Cambridge and Oxford responded, and an organization was formed to raise funds for the proposed settlement. Temporary residential quarters for a small group of men were secured in a disused public house in Whitechapel. A plot of ground was obtained adjacent to St. Jude's, on which a building was erected, and in 1884, Toynbee Hall—named after Arnold Toynbee, a young Oxford social enthusiast who had recently died—was opened. This was the first of the social settlements, but it was not long before similar settlements came into being in different parts of London. The movement made a wide appeal, not only because it offered the opportunity of direct ministration to human need, but also because many saw in it a means of bridging the gap between the classes. As a significant moral adventure it captivated the imagination of idealists throughout England, and spread beyond the sea to America, where thoughtful leaders saw in the settlement movement a most hopeful approach to the new and complex problems of the American city.

The period following the American Civil War saw the rapid development of industrialism, particularly in the cities of the Eastern States. Between 1880 and 1890 the number of employees and the value of products doubled that of the previous decade. Between 1880 and 1900 almost 9,000,000 immigrants entered the

United States, which together with a change in the racial character of immigration made the problem of assimilation a most difficult one. In every city there were large new population groups set over against the old established groups. The new groups of immigrants, strangers in a strange country, tended to huddle together in the slum areas of the cities, forming cities within cities, neither understanding nor understood by their neighbours. At the same time there was a growing consciousness that something must be done about the situation, and hence the soil was already prepared for the introduction of the settlement idea.

In the United States, as in England, the direct impetus to the settlement movement came from the attempt of some of its religious leaders to bring religion into closer touch with life. One might mention the influence of William J. Tucker, who in 1879 took a chair in Andover Seminary for the purpose of training young ministers to meet the human problems involved in the new industrialism; of Francis G. Peabody at Harvard, and of Graham Taylor at Hartford. The women's colleges were also touched by the new spirit and provided the settlement movement with some of its finest leadership.

The first American settlement was founded by Stanton Coit, an Amherst graduate, who had studied abroad, and who had lived in Toynbee Hall in London. While a resident of Toynbee, Mr. Coit determined to attempt to carry on similar work in New York City, and upon his return in 1886, spent considerable time in selecting a section of the East Side, to which a group of educated young residents might make a real contribution.

He began his work by taking up residence in a five-storey building, housing some twenty families. The people could not at first understand why he was there, but they were willing to accept his proffered friendship. Mr. Coit's first activities were picnics for young people, followed by the establishment of a young men's club, a kindergarten, and a girls' club. By the winter of

1887, five clubs were holding regular meetings. Other friends of Mr. Coit took up residence in the same house, and various plans were worked out for the improvement of local conditions. The movement was known as Neighbourhood Guild, and as knowledge of the work of the Guild became more widespread, new centres were opened in other needy sections of the city.

One of the earliest settlements in America was Hull House, which was founded in Chicago by Miss Jane Addams in 1889. Brought up in a liberal atmosphere, Miss Addams during her college course made up her mind to fit herself for service among the poor. She decided upon medicine as a profession: but while in medical school her health failed, and acting upon doctor's orders she went abroad in an effort to regain her health. While on the Continent of Europe, she confided her cherished ideals of service to her friend and classmate, Ellen Gates Starr, and together they went on a visit to Toynbee Hall. Returning to Chicago, the two young ladies found a suitable locality and building for their work on Halsted Street, in which locality Hull House has continued to work throughout the years. Hull House, in the course of its history, has served; perhaps more than any other American settlement, to typify that which is best in the settlement ideal.

The aim of all the early settlements was much the same, *viz.*, "the cultivation of friendly relations between the educated and the uneducated, and the gradual uplifting of the latter by the better influences thus brought to bear upon them." Buildings and equipment were not emphasised, the "theory of work was 'to be lavish of personal influence.'" The settlement associates were either men and women of independent means or those whose regular occupations allowed a considerable degree of leisure time. It was not long, however, before the work came to be placed upon a vocational basis, and the increasing demands of the neighbourhood led to the erection of specialised buildings.

By the turn of the Century the settlement movement had become firmly rooted, and to-day settlements are numbered by the hundreds. The one element that most settlements possess in common is that each differs in some respect from the other, each settlement striving to serve best the neighbourhood in which it is placed. In the words of a report of the United Neighbourhood Houses of New York, "The settlements stand for service through neighbourhood co-operation. The settlement does not come into a neighbourhood with any pre-conceived social theory, but with a determination to get at the facts and then develop a method of attack. The aim of the settlement is always the building of a better social life through the development of character in individuals, and an improvement in the environment in which the individual life is lived."

The settlement endeavours to provide a centre in which people of all kinds and conditions may gather together. It seeks to break down artificial barriers of race or class, and to bring people together as friends and neighbours. The settlement concerns itself with social improvement, with education, recreation and the public health. It provides a meeting place for those who wish to gather for self-improvement along intellectual and social lines. It serves as a neighbourhood clearing house, and as a centre of neighbourhood co-operation. The settlement aims at the development of the whole man. It endeavours to demonstrate in a small area the type of life which it would like to see lived throughout the world. It believes that all men are members one of another, and acting upon this belief, it has for its supreme purpose the building of brotherhood.

So far as I am aware, the settlement movement in India has been confined to Bombay. For many years last, Bombay has had the Missionary Settlement for University Women, which is an interdenominational society, founded in Great Britain in 1895 by university women. This settlement has a staff of five

European lady residents, and provides a hostel for students and other Indian ladies as well as undertaking certain religious and educational work ; but in the strict sense of the term, it is not a social settlement, but a high-grade hostel. It is located in a better residential section of the city and confines its efforts almost entirely to the student group, making no attempt to influence the wider neighbourhood in which it is placed. Within the last few months, however, the Settlement has acquired a new home in the Agripada section of Byculla, where it hopes to carry on neighbourhood social work among the women and children.

In 1911 the Bombay Social Service League was established, to further interest in the general social field, as well as to carry out definite pieces of social work. The League at the present time operates three settlements in the mill area of Bombay, for the improvement of working class conditions. Although these organizations do carry out certain settlement features, they are not 'settlements' in the sense of attempting to bring together the diverse elements of the neighbourhood into a homogeneous whole. They are rather service agencies to a particular class, emphasising work for men, with a few classes for women, and sponsoring practically no activities for children.

The first residential social settlement in India was opened in Bombay by the American Marathi Mission. For many years the mission had been working in the crowded Nagpada section of Byculla ; and during these years it had endeavoured to adjust its programme to the changing needs of the city. In 1921, a trained social worker was sent out from America with a definite commission for social work in Bombay. He made a splendid start among the young men, but his career was soon cut short by his unexpected death. The work that he had begun, however, was carried forward. Funds were raised in America for founding a modern social service centre and a new worker secured to carry on the work. A four-storey building, containing residential quarters, hostel, class and club

rooms, library, game rooms, a public hall and dispensary was erected, and the Nagpada Neighbourhood House was opened to the public in February, 1927.

The purpose of the Neighbourhood House is "to provide a centre to assist in cultivating the higher interests of the Nagpada Neighbourhood, to initiate and to maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, to investigate and to improve social and economic conditions, and at all times to work for the public welfare of the city of Bombay."

The House knows no distinctions of caste or creed, seeking only to meet neighbourhood needs in the most effective fashion. The total staff of the settlement now numbers about 30 workers, including four residential families, and a resident nurse. 25 young men reside in the hostel, a large number of them doing voluntary or part-time work in the settlement. The activities of the House include the hostel, a charitable dispensary, an infant welfare centre, maternity clinics, lectures, concerts, religious meetings, cinema shows, games, classes, clubs, athletics, dramatics, employment bureau, night schools in Urdu, Marathi and English, library and reading room, training in social service, etc.,—96 regular weekly appointments in all. During the past three years over 516,000 people have used the House facilities.

The Neighbourhood House is still in its infancy, but the quick response to its programme indicates that the settlement has a contribution to make to India as well as to the nations of the West.

CHAPTER II.

THE SETTLEMENT APPROACH.

As already indicated, the genius of the settlement movement is its ability to adapt itself to neighbourhood needs. For this reason no hard and fast programme can be laid down as a method of approach. In presenting the following paragraphs, I am making no attempt whatever to offer a final word. I am simply sharing a method of approach to a particular situation, in the hope that it may prove suggestive to others who are anxious to serve their own local communities in a more effective manner.

One of the first tasks undertaken by the Nagpada settlement was a Survey of the neighbourhood; and the following is an outline of this survey :

FACING FACTS IN NAGPADA.

SECTION I.

THE SCOPE OF THE SURVEY.

A. Investigation of local conditions.

1. *Geography*.—What is the situation and area of the neighbourhood ? Is it an isolated unit or a part of a larger whole ? Is there a city plan, and if so, what does it show as regards this neighbourhood ?

2. *Population*.—What is the composition of the neighbourhood ? What is the dominant racial group ? What languages are spoken ? What are the chief agencies of leadership within the varying groups ? Is there any tendency towards neighbourhood co-operation ? Is the neighbourhood law-abiding or lawless ?

3. *Industrial Conditions*.—What is the character of the industries in which the people of the neighbourhood work ? What are the conditions under which they work ? What are the hours of employment ? What is the scale of wages ?

4. *Living conditions*.—What are the housing conditions in the neighbourhood ? Is it possible to discover who the larger owners are ? Are the chawls sanitary, well ventilated, and wholesome ? Is there over-crowding ?

5. *Public health*.—What is the sickness rate in the neighbourhood ? What are the most prevalent diseases ? What hospital facilities are there ? Is there an effective City Board of Health ? Is there an adequate supply of reputable physicians ? An oversupply of quacks ? Are there an undue number of industrial accidents ? What street accidents could be eliminated by more careful preventative measures ? How about chawl and street sanitation ?

6. *Education*.—How many schools are there in the neighbourhood ? Are there any higher schools ? What is the equipment of these schools ? Are they adequate to meet neighbourhood need ? Are there any agencies of education outside the schools—libraries, etc. ? Are any school plants used for the wider education of the public ?

7. *City administration*.—Is the city administration as concerns this neighbourhood honest and efficient ? Who are the political leaders most likely to co-operate in movements for the community welfare ?

8. *Vice, crime, and intemperance*.—Are there any drinking saloons in the community ? houses of prostitution ? Is vice practised in the chawls ? How about juvenile delinquency ? What appear to be its causes ? Are the police helpful, honest, efficient ?

9. *Moral and spiritual forces*.—How many churches, synagogues, mosques, temples, etc. ? Are these organizations public-spirited or bigoted ? Are there any organized agencies for social welfare ?

10. In the light of the above analysis, what appear to be the chief needs of the neighbourhood ?

B. The relation of neighbourhood need to the various remedial agencies.

1. What agencies in the city are organized to promote neighbourhood welfare, e.g., United Charities,

Infant Welfare, Medical Associations, Housing Commissions, etc. Are any of these operating in the Nagpada neighbourhood? How can we work with these agencies so as to avoid duplication of effort?

C. In the light of the above facts, what contributions may the Nagpada Neighbourhood House be expected to make?

SECTION II.

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD SURVEY IN ACTION.

A. Investigation of local conditions.

1. *Geography.*—The Nagpada Neighbourhood House is located in "E" Ward of the Bombay Municipality, in the section of the city known as Byculla. The House is situated near the junction of Bellasis and New Nagpada Roads, at the Parsi Statue, which is near to the geographical centre of the city. The constituency of the House is drawn almost entirely from the sub-districts known as First and Second Nagpada, with a scattering from Kamathipura, Madanpura, and more distant areas. For all practical purposes the field of the Neighbourhood House may be defined as First and Second Nagpada.

First Nagpada, bounded by Bellasis, Parel, Shepherd, and Clare Roads, comprises an area of 29.38 acres.

Second Nagpada, bounded by Duncan, Grant, Parel, and Bellasis Roads, comprises an area of 33.05 acres.

The two districts are triangular in shape, and together form a rectangle of some 62 acres. They are an integral part of Bombay city.

2. *Population.*—The population of First Nagpada is 8,125 (1925), and that of Second Nagpada is 23,562. The respective density of population per acre is 276.52 and 712.91, while the average density per acre for the entire city is 78. In 1891, First Nagpada had a density of 376 per acre, but the demolition carried on by the Improvement Trust between 1901 and 1906 resulted in a reduction of density to 113. Although the density has since increased, the general character of the neighbourhood argues against any considerable increase in

density for a period of years. The tendency of the neighbourhood is towards better and less crowded residence buildings.

Second Nagpada, on the other hand, shows a material increase in density since 1891 (552 to 712.91). A report on "Density of Population in Bombay" (1914) states that Second Nagpada "formed part of the new town of 1805 and was consequently laid out in parallel roads running northwards from Grant Road. The houses have, for the most part, very narrow frontage, and back on to one another with only three feet or four feet sweeper's gullies between." It is this crowding of dwellings that makes possible the existence of so large a population in so small an area.

The population of the neighbourhood is varied. First Nagpada includes Hindus, Jews, Mahomedans and Christians. Second Nagpada is largely Mahomedan with a fairly large community of Hindu leather workers.

The principal languages are Hindustani, Marathi, Arabic, Gujarati, and English. Hindustani is the most serviceable *lingua franca*, though English is quite common, particularly among the Jews.

There are no apparent signs of neighbourhood co-operation. Each community stays pretty well within its own communal lines, and within the narrower group lines drawn within the community.

There is considerable potential leadership within the neighbourhood, but at present a very limited amount of constructive leadership. The gang spirit is strong, and there are several well-defined neighbourhood gangs. Some of the people are actually vicious, but the most of the trouble makers are simply suffering from misdirected energy.

3. *Industrial conditions.*—The Nagpada Neighbourhood is quite a self-contained unit. Within First Nagpada there are 24 hotels, 1 meat shop, 22 tailor shops, 10 charcoal shops, 12 grain shops, 2 soap shops, 26 provision shops, 14 leather shops, 1 furniture shop, 2 baker shops, 9 carpenter shops, 3 barber shops, 6 washing companies, 18 tobacco stalls, 1 oil merchant,

6 milk shops, 3 bicycle shops, 1 iron foundry, 1 tea company, 1 photographer, 1 watch repairer, 1 vulcanizer, 1 cloth shop, 4 sugarcane shops, 1 brass shop, 1 machine shop, 1 silversmith, 3 candy shops, 1 trunk shop, 1 paper shop, 2 rug merchants, 1 book store, 1 spirits dealer, 2 chemists, 1 fruit shop, 1 taxi office, 1 post office, 16 hotels, 2 printing plants, and 1 marble worker. There are also a considerable number of private taxis.

Within Second Nagpada there are 9 tinsmith shops, 17 cotton waste merchants, 7 mill machinery merchants, 101 leather shops, 20 grain shops, 30 irani shops, 6 meat shops, 37 provision shops, 3 rug weaving plants, 18 charcoal merchants, 6 wood-yards, 6 paper shops, 8 scrap iron yards, 23 tailor shops, 13 baker shops, 5 brass-founder shops, 2 scissors grinders stalls, 3 light merchants, 6 carpenter shops, 1 umbrella maker, 3 washing companies, 6 barber shops, 25 silversmith shops, 1 printing plant, 1 furniture shop, 1 cane working shop, 2 bicycle repair shops, 6 toddy shops, 3 sugarcane shops, 1 bottle dealer, 5 plantain dealers, 3 candy shops, 1 copper-smith, 28 bidi stalls, 5 hardware shops, 3 stationers, 1 plumber shop, 6 general shops, 5 milk shops, 3 trunk manufacturers, 1 bank, 8 cloth shops, 1 vinegar shop, 1 flour mill, and 4 lime shops. There are also the usual number of street hawkers.

A sampling of 100 working families reveals a wide diversity of employment. Contrary to expectation, in the majority of families interviewed, only one member was reported as 'employed'. In practically every case the people were reluctant to give information about employment and wages, and it is possible that the fear of increased rent or taxes coloured the information given.

Of the families reporting, the majority were mill workers, with a reported average family wage of about Rs. 30 per month. The second largest group were leather workers, with a reported average family wage slightly under Rs. 25 per month. The third largest group was the cooly group, with a reported monthly

wage of approximately Rs. 25. The list then scatters to motor drivers, hamals, mechanics, hawkers, and clerks, ranging in pay from Rs. 90 to Rs. 20, with a reported average wage of slightly over Rs. 30 per month. The greater part of the families interviewed were residents of Second Nagpada, and represent the average, rather than the minority better class group. The standard of living in First Nagpada is on the whole considerably above that of Second Nagpada. A considerable group of First Nagpada residents are well over the Rs. 100 mark, and therefore enter into the so-called middle rather than labouring class.

The majority of the workers interviewed reported working ten hours a day, though the hours in individual cases ranged from fourteen to eight.

There are no large industrial establishments in the neighbourhood, but many of the smaller shops are 'sweat-shops' with a vengeance. Small, ill-ventilated, and over-crowded, they are decidedly inimical to the health of the workers. The leather shops are the most glaring example of sweated labour.

Whether or no the Rs. 30 indicated by the sampling represents the average wage of the working class family in the Nagpada Neighbourhood, certain it is that the majority of the unskilled workers are not receiving a wage sufficient to maintain a family in health and in decency.

4. *Living conditions.*—As already indicated in Topic 2 (Population), the housing conditions vary from fair and good in First Nagpada to extremely bad in sections of Second Nagpada. In First Nagpada there is less crowding and better sanitation. The large Improvement Trust Chawls, off New Nagpada Road, while forbidding in appearance, are decidedly more airy and sanitary than the rooms occupied by people of similar class in Second Nagpada. A considerable number of the First Nagpada and a few of the Second Nagpada buildings are of relatively high grade. The feeling that one has after a house to house visitation in Second Nagpada is that of depression.

The region is in large measure an area of cross lanes and narrow alleys. The houses are piled in upon each other, front and back, with but narrow service passages between. The section running parallel to Tank Street and Duncan Road between Duncan Road Cross Lane and Grant Road is particularly repellent. Filth, stench, darkness, foul air, overcrowding and the like, make one marvel that as many people remain healthy as do.

The majority of the families live in one room, though in First Nagpada there are many exceptions. For the ordinary quarters of the labourer the rents range from Rs. 5 to 16 per month. A bad custom prevails in some quarters, of the new tenant being compelled to pay the landlord a large gratuity before being allowed to take possession. This is particularly resorted to when the landlord knows that a certain party is desirous of living near relatives or friends.

In the sampling of the one hundred working class families we discovered from three to eleven people occupying each room. The average for the entire group was six people per room. In Mustan Tank Cross Lane there are many Pathans from the North. These men come to Bombay single, leaving their families behind. Twenty or more men will club together and hire a small room in which to store their boxes. They will then sleep on the streets or wherever opportunity affords. At all seasons of the year, the monsoon included, hundreds of men (and women) are sleeping in the streets every night—this over and above the people who have come out of their own rooms for better air.

Because of the agency system of renting, it is very difficult to discover who the chawl owners are, but, by persistency the information can be secured.

The majority of the working-class chawls are unsanitary, ill-ventilated, unwholesome, and decidedly over-crowded.

5. *Public health.*—The average death rate for the city of Bombay per 1000 of population is 25.38. The

Four of the public school buildings are used for night schools, but no school is doing anything further along the line that we call "community service."

7. *City administration.*—The only place that we seem to come in contact with the city administration is in paying taxes and through the sanitary department. As far as one can discover, the ward representatives, of whom but one lives in the neighbourhood, are taking no interest in the welfare of the neighbourhood. On the other hand, the Municipal Commissioner is very sympathetic to worthy appeals, and is solicitous for the public welfare. Thus far our most fruitful dealings have been with the municipal authorities direct.

8. *Vice, crime, and intemperance.*—Although the neighbourhood borders on the segregated vice district with its thousands of prostitutes and debased standard of living, it has a relatively high standard of family life. True, the backwash of the segregated district does find its way into our neighbourhood, resulting in a certain hardness and tendency towards brutalization. The children are continually brought face to face with coarseness and unloveliness. On various occasions I have noticed our little ten and twelve year old boys wandering about in the vice district, to say nothing of the many children that come to us directly from this area. For the young men the district stands as a continuous invitation, and many of them succumb.

Most of the crime of the neighbourhood is petty rather than violent. Gambling seems to be the biggest evil, and is particularly prevalent among the Jews. The men study the race forms with great care, while the children gamble with pice from the time that they are able to walk. Any kind of a game is made an occasion for gambling.

There is a considerable amount of juvenile delinquency, mostly because the parents are not interested. Daily one can find truants from school roaming about the streets looking for amusement, and at all hours of the night one can find children playing in the streets.

There are six toddy shops in the neighbourhood, but it is very seldom that one actually runs across a drunken man. The majority of the drunkards confine their trouble-making to their own homes. The Jews and the Christians are the worst offenders, the majority of the Mahomedans following the precepts of their religion in this respect.

Our relations with the police are most cordial. They are willing to co-operate with us in every possible manner. The police, however, are often themselves the victims of the system, and can go only as far and move as rapidly as the system allows.

9. *Moral and spiritual forces.*—In First and Second Nagpada there are ten mosques, one synagogue and one church. The mosques are well attended, and the call to prayer is widely observed. The Nagpada Mahomedans are for the most part *Sunnis*. For the vast number of them, their religion actually makes a difference in their daily living.

The Hindu temples are situated in rather secluded locations. Attendants are in charge, but few worshippers are ever in evidence. Both Hindus and Muslims make much of their holy and festival days.

The Jewish synagogue is widely attended, but it is very formal in its outlook, and not very closely related to life. There are two groups of Jews, the Bene-Israelites, or Bombay Jews, and the Bagdadi Jews. Each group attends its own synagogue. The Synagogue in our neighbourhood is for the Bagdadi group. A small, advanced group of Bene-Israelites, known as the Israelite Brotherhood, hold their special services in our building.

The Christian Church, for Marathi speaking people, is well attended, though many of its members are drawn from other sections of Bombay. The children from the schools make up a large part of the local constituency. Some of the members of the church have a genuine social interest and are most public-spirited; others, however, incline to the idea of 'the

'Christian caste'; indeed, no group is entirely free from 'the narrower communalism.'

While there are several communal organizations in the neighbourhood, there is no organized agency for social welfare save the Neighbourhood House.

10. *In the light of the above analysis, what appear to be the chief needs of the neighbourhood?*

(1) Demolition of old and insanitary chawls; widening of streets; more open spaces; building of new and sanitary dwellings with a limited number of tenants—in an endeavour to cope with the evils of over-population.

(2) Introduction of activities to bring people together as neighbours, rather than Hindus, Mahomedans, Jews, or Christians.

(3) The direction of latent leadership into constructive channels.

(4) Inspection of conditions of work and hours in private industries carried on in chawl rooms and shops.

(5) Immediate condemnation of dark and insanitary buildings as unfit for human habitation.

(6) Increased hostel facilities for unmarried men.

(7) Increased attention to public sanitation, and to more careful inspection of sanitary provisions within the chawls.

(8) Compulsory introduction of closed garbage receptacles, and punishment for throwing garbage into streets or courtyards.

(9) Sanitary education, with particular emphasis as to the evils of urinating and defecating in public places.

(10) An immediate investigation into the cause of the excessively high death rate from malaria.

(11) Consecutive advice to mothers in an endeavour to curb the high children's death rate.

(12) Strengthening of family life.

(13) Compulsory education.

(14) Larger and better-equipped Government schools.

(15) Increased facilities for adult education.

(16) An influential voice in the municipal corporation.

(17) The abolition of the segregated vice district.

- (18) The abolition of foreign liquor and toddy shops.
- (19) A tightening up of the enforcement of the laws against gambling.
- (20) Inter-religious co-operation for the furtherance of common idealistic ends ; "A brotherhood of the high-minded."

B. The relation of neighbourhood need to the various remedial agencies.

Although there are about seven hundred different institutions in Bombay engaged in work that can be called social, there is no such organization as a United Charities, nor is there a city-wide public health organization. Each community, and each sect within the community, attempts to care for its own without reference to the wider whole.

The one organization that comes nearest to operating on a city-wide scale is that of the Bombay Presidency Infant Welfare Society, which endeavours to provide, "aid and assistance to infants," and to provide "aid, assistance, and advice to expectant mothers, to mothers in child-birth and to mothers and all others in charge of infants." We are at the present time in co-operation with this society and are operating a joint infant welfare centre for the people of the Nagpada Neighbourhood.

The Social Service League, in which we hold membership, is doing a good work in several sections of the city, but has no activities in the Nagpada Neighbourhood, save one Urdu night-school.

The Children's Aid Society is doing splendid work in the reclamation of children. Although our major interest is in prevention rather than reclamation, we stand ready to co-operate with the society to the extent of our ability.

In like manner we are desirous of co-operating with the Bombay Vigilance Association in its campaign to stamp out social vice in the city of Bombay.

The Bombay Improvement Trust assisted materially in reducing the density of population in First Nagpada.

through a programme of demolition and the erection of the Improvement Trust Chawls. But at the present time the Improvement Trust has no scheme in mind for the relief of Second Nagpada.

The proximity of the J. J. Hospital and several private dispensaries raised some question as to the absolute need of a medical programme. But with the inauguration of the Infant Welfare Centre, the medical work has become essential.

To the best of our knowledge the Nagpada Neighbourhood House is not duplicating the work of any social agency with which it should be in co-operation.

C. In the light of the above facts, what contributions may the Nagpada Neighbourhood House be expected to make?

In the light of the above facts, it would seem as if the Nagpada Neighbourhood House might contribute in six major realms : (1) in furthering family integrity ; (2) in furthering the public health ; (3) in bettering economic conditions ; (4) in developing general intelligence ; (5) in furthering law observance and morality ; (6) in furthering public spirit and neighbourhood co-operation ;—and in every activity furthering idealism and growth in character.

1. *Furthering family integrity—*

- (a) by home visitation.
- (b) by interviews with family members upon family problems.
- (c) by interpreting children to parents and parents to children.
- (d) by bringing families together as families in wholesome social and educational activities.
- (e) by working upon the housing problem with the end in view of providing the privacy and general environment so necessary to a full realization of family life.

2. *Furthering public health—*

- (a) by health education—public lectures and individual instruction.

- (b) by endeavouring to arouse public interest to deal with the housing problem.
- (c) by more stringent sanitary inspection both within the chawls and out of doors.
- (d) by health nurse visitation.
- (e) by an extension of infant welfare work.
- (f) by daily medical clinics.
- (g) by encouraging play and wholesome recreation.

3. Bettering economic conditions—

- (a) by exploring the possibilities of co-operative credit societies.
- (b) by inspecting and exposing the working conditions in small industries.
- (c) by endeavouring to seek out new avenues of employment for those who are at present not receiving a living wage.
- (d) by providing classes in technical subjects, and endeavouring to place young men in fruitful apprenticeships rather than in blind-alley jobs.
- (e) by demanding a chance for children, and protecting the next generation.
- (f) by encouraging thrift, and emphasising the economic waste of gambling.

4. Developing general intelligence—

- (a) by night classes.
- (b) by public lectures, both visual and oral.
- (c) by encouraging self-expression in music, public speaking, dramatics, hand-work, etc.
- (d) by supplying free reading room and library facilities.
- (e) by circulation of books and pamphlets among the literate.
- (f) by endeavouring to create the "desire to know" through private conversations.
- (g) by encouraging educated young men to discuss current topics in their homes in the endeavour to raise the intelligence level of the entire family.

- (h) by endeavouring to help our students to see life whole, rather than to see simply the materials of a text-book.
- (i) by encouraging female education.

5. Furthering law observance and morality—

- (a) by strengthening the family.
- (b) by private conversations upon personal moral problems.
- (c) by the slow building up of the moral and the social conscience through daily participation in worthwhile activities.
- (d) by lectures and class instruction.
- (e) by teaching through daily activities the co-operative conception of society, with emphasis upon both duties and privileges.
- (f) by inculcating through daily activities a respect for personality.
- (g) by the extension of high grade hostel facilities for young men.

6. Furthering public spirit and neighbourhood co-operation—

- (a) by seeking out and discussing in public meetings, topics of common interest.
- (b) by bringing people of all castes and creeds together at lectures, concerts, and cinema shows.
- (c) by encouraging boys and young men of all communities to enlist in a common programme of sports, thereby also enlisting the support and the interest of their friends.
- (d) by seeking out common projects, such as an interest in child welfare, education, or sanitation, that will appeal to inter-caste and to inter-communal groups.
- (e) by encouraging neighbourhood fairs, pageants, music, etc.
- (f) by encouraging men of good-will to co-operate with all other men of good-will in the endeavour to bring to bear upon the neighbourhood the full impact of moral idealism.



"Practically every settlement has its playground."

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"The boys' clubs may be straight athletic clubs."

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CHAPTER III. EDUCATING THROUGH PLAY.

PRACTICALLY every settlement has its playground, ranging from a roof-garden in one of the more congested sections of a great city, to a major games playground in the centre where land is plentiful. Some playgrounds are equipped with a full supply of the best apparatus. Others provide facilities for volley-ball, basket ball, football, cricket, hockey and other running games. Still others provide nothing but a piece of ground, leaving it to the ingenuity of the supervisor or those who play to utilize the ground in the best manner. Other things being equal, a certain amount of equipment can always be used to advantage, but the equipment of a playground is distinctly secondary to the personality and ability of the playground supervisor.

To have a really educational value, play must be supervised. A group of boys or girls can play without supervision and can have a good time doing so ; but it is the alert supervisor who gives to play its educative value, for it is he who senses the larger issues involved and uses the playground situations as educational opportunities.

This does not mean that the playground supervisor should be a preacher. To interfere with games for the purpose of preaching would render both the playground and the leader highly unpopular. It rather means that the supervisor should keep his eyes open, making mental note of the daily happenings and then dealing with the individual situations according to his own best judgment. In some instances immediate discipline may be essential. The older boy who knocks the smaller boy off the swing in order to use the swing himself must be curbed. The hockey player who maliciously trips another boy with his stick had best be relegated to the side-lines. But discipline is not the

major function of the supervisor. The supervisor is first of all a friend, and as a friend, a counsellor.

Many playground situations teach their own lessons. When a new set of swings is installed the first reaction of the children is to get on the swings as quickly as possible. Every child wants a swing, and there is a wild scramble for turns. But it is not long before the wiser among the children themselves see that without some order the situation is hopeless. No one is having any fun. Accordingly an older boy or girl will arrange the children in lines for turns, and then every child has a fair chance at enjoyment. This necessity of subordinating individual desires to the welfare of the group is a lesson soon learned on the playground, but it is one of the most important lessons that life has to teach. Selfishness is an unsafe foundation on which to rear any social structure. As an immediate proposition it may seem that self-interest gets the best results. The man who 'grabs the swing' and holds it against all comers often attains to wealth and to a position of power. But if every member of society were to engage in the same practice it would be a poor world in which to live. *A* would be in conflict with *B*; *B* would be in conflict with *C*; and every man would be suspicious of his neighbour. It is because men co-operate with each other, subordinate their "my" desires to the best interests of the group, that society makes progress.

Another lesson of the playground is to play the game according to rules. A game can be played in a slovenly fashion and more or less enjoyment derived from it. Every boy can be a rule unto himself and "get-by" with as much as the group will allow. But the certain result of such a procedure is bound to be quarrels and bickerings. The boy who is the strongest will dominate the situation by force. When rules are followed, each participant in the game is a partner to a contract. Every boy knows what to expect of every other boy, and the boy who breaks the rules must suffer the known penalty. The tension of uncertainty is released,

and every player is free to give his best efforts to the game. The bully is in no more a favoured position than is the physical weakling.

What else are laws but the rules of the game? The boy who learns to respect the rules of the playground is well on the way to becoming a citizen who respects law, and who sees in laws not a fetter, but a pledge whereby each citizen agrees to play the game not only for his own benefit, but for the benefit of every other citizen.

A third lesson of the playground is the lesson of team-work. Volley-ball has been a popular game on the Bombay playgrounds for several years. The first team that represented the Neighbourhood House three years ago was a group of nine men, each man an individual player. When the ball came over the net, the man receiving it tried his best to hit it back again. There was no thought of utilizing the services of the other eight men on the side. The team entered the city tournament but was an easy victim to teams having an idea of team play. After much persuasion and various changes in personnel, the Neighbourhood House teams began to see the light. The peculiar abilities of each man were analysed, and the men began to take an interest in passing and team-play. A definite method of attack was worked out, and for the last two seasons the Neighbourhood House team has won every Bombay tournament. The small boys have learned the value of team work from the older boys, and are trying to carry the same spirit into their games. Whether we can carry the spirit still further into co-operation between the various racial and religious groups making up the neighbourhood remains to be seen. One thing is certain, we have a background to draw upon which every child in the neighbourhood understands.

Our schools are supposed to train our children in the art of thinking. How successful they are is an open question. Certain it is that the most of the products of the system are 'conformists' and not 'pathfinders.'

The majority of the population find it extremely difficult to form independent judgments. Play is an aid to clear thinking. Over and above the well-known connection between an alert mind and a healthy body, competitive games continually present situations which call for quick thinking and encourage mental alertness. Indian boys love wrestling. The wrestling-pit is always one of the most popular places on the playground. Time and again in wrestling one sees two boys equally matched in size and in wrestling knowledge, and yet unequal in competition. The one boy depends upon strength and skill, while the other is just one step ahead of his opponent in thinking. Each hold is figured out in advance, a proper defence is planned and momentary advantages are given as a part of a wider strategy. The secret of good boxing is not only to carry a good punch, but to out-think one's opponent. And what is true in wrestling and boxing is true in a greater or lesser degree in practically every playground game. The difference between the mediocre athlete and the champion is seldom a difference in physical equipment, it is a difference in the use of brains.

The playground is a school of patience. Some athletes are so-called natural athletes, but the majority acquire their skill through practice. Only those in the closest touch with athletics realise the long hours of wearisome practice that enter into the finished product. The boy who thrills the crowd with spectacular shots in hockey was not born with a hockey stick in his hands. His skill is the result of strenuous work. The boy who shoots the winning basket in the basket ball match has spent days and weeks in basket shooting, to be ready for just such an emergency. The boy who handles a volley-ball with uncanny skill has lived with a volley ball until it has become almost a part of himself. The boxer who dazzles the onlookers with his speed and ability has spent tedious hours in punching the bag, shadow boxing, skipping the rope, and perfecting his timing. Proficiency in even the simplest

playground games demands patience—the same patience that is essential as one faces the drab and unheroic situations of daily life.

Side by side with patience, the playground teaches the lesson of self-control. The boy who loses his head and gets angry is of no value to any team. He may receive hard knocks, both intentional and unintentional, but the moment he gives way to anger is the moment the other team secures the advantage. The real sportsman is no less sensitive than the "sore-head," but instead of expending his energy in futile mutterings and attempts to get even, he puts added energy into the contest, securing his satisfaction in the knowledge that his added efforts have been a real factor in the total accomplishment of the team. The control of temper cannot be learned from books: it must be the product of experience. The world needs men who can be hit hard and come up smiling. Trying situations are bound to enter into every life. Happy is he who has learned his early lessons in self-control in the school of play.

Just a few weeks ago the Neighbourhood House volleyball team was playing a municipal playground team in the final match of a cup tournament. The Neighbourhood House boys took the first game with points to spare. They lost the second game and went into the final game a bit disturbed. Before they knew what was happening the playground boys had marked up 12 points to the Neighbourhood House 4. Three more points, and the game and match would be decided. But at that juncture the Neighbourhood House boys "came to." They made a resolve and they made a stand. Time after time they turned back the attack of the playground boys, and slowly but surely their own total began to rise. The score became 11-13, 13 all, 14-13, 14 all, and finally 16-14, with a Neighbourhood House win.

In that match our boys learned an invaluable lesson. The weakening of any man on the team would have meant certain defeat, but fighting under difficulties

every man stood firm. A lost match was recovered through a singleness of purpose. Do you suppose that any of those boys went back to their school and work quite the same as they were before? Through facing a hard situation and conquering it, new power had entered into their lives—a confidence and determination which our Indian boys need sorely.

Thus far I have been speaking largely in terms of match play, but every form of play has its value. Through participating wholeheartedly in even the simplest games the child learns the joy of free activity and is released from any feeling of self-consciousness. The spontaneity of children's play is ever a joy to an ageing elder. But the very enthusiasm of children for play leads one to interpolate a word of warning. Children in their growing years can play too hard, to their own physical detriment. The wise playground supervisor will arrange for graded play, for games that meet the physical abilities of children at their varying stages of growth. A nine-year old boy should not be allowed to take the same long hike as the sixteen-year old. A twelve-year old should not indulge in the strenuous games of the boy of eighteen. The same type of game can be played, but it must be modified to meet varying age groups. Neither can boys and girls always engage in the same games with profit. The playground supervisor is much more than a watch-dog. He should be a man with a thorough knowledge of the human body.

If match play is emphasised on any playground, care must be taken to put this type of play in its proper perspective. Our boys and girls should learn from the beginning that the game is more than winning. To win at any cost may be the slogan of a professional football team, but it is not the spirit that should be displayed upon the settlement playground. To play the game fair and hard is of much more value than to register a win. Life is not a triumphal procession of successes. The defeats must be mingled with the victories. Defeat is no disgrace. The only disgrace is when a team had done less than its best.

The playground upon which small boys and older boys play side by side presents both an opportunity and a challenge, for the small boy is of course a hero worshipper. He will gaze in awe at his athletic ideal, will copy his mannerisms, and follow him about as a shadow. How important it is then that the older boy should be worthy of emulation. The settlement is not satisfied simply to produce good athletes, it also wants to produce men. The athletic director of my own university in America is a man who over a long period of years has set before him the ideal of building men. He has turned out championship football teams and All-American players, but he never allows a man under his tutelage to forget that over and above being a football player he must be a man. He does not preach, but every man who comes near him knows exactly where he stands. The settlement playground supervisor should be of the same type. He should stand for definite ideals of living and should strive to make his ideals contagious. No older boy who has come up through the settlement playground should ever cause a younger boy to stumble morally. He should himself be a radiant example of wholesome manhood.

Among the ancient Greeks, it was the custom to place great emphasis upon the development of the body. Every city had its gymnasium where the boys congregated for play and physical instruction. When the philosophers wanted to find listeners for their favourite philosophical doctrines, they would wander around to the gymnasium where they were always sure to find the young men.

The social settlement operates somewhat similarly. It too places emphasis upon the development of the body, and it too instructs in the art of living. It regards the gymnasium as an educational opportunity no whit less important than the opportunity of the classroom. It sees in play one of the most effective agencies of community socialization. If we have hope that people of different castes and creeds will

live together in a friendly, co-operating manner, where is a better handle to take hold than to provide them the opportunity of enjoying themselves together? Through learning to know and respect each other in play, the way is opened for still further co-operation.

India needs more good sportsmen and better sportsmanship. She needs men who know how to be gracious both in defeat and in victory. She needs men who know their bodies and who have mastered the art of self-control. She needs men of determination, men who will carry on in the face of heavy odds. She needs men who can be cool under stress, who can concentrate on the job in hand, despite distractions. She needs men who are willing to sacrifice themselves for the interests of the larger group. She needs men who can lead and men who know how to follow. The playground cannot guarantee to produce such persons, but it can assist in their development.

CHAPTER IV.

EDUCATING THROUGH CLUBS.

AMONG those who are attracted to the settlement, some care to use no other facilities than those of play, others become interested in furthering the general education of the people, and so become connected with classes and clubs.

The well-organized settlement offers clubs to meet every conceivable interest. In America, where perhaps the club programme is most extended, there are clubs for every age group of both sexes, from the kindergarten to the grandfathers and grandmothers.

The boys' clubs may be straight athletic clubs, organized for no other purpose than furthering the athletic interests of their members ; or they may be, at the other extreme, purely literary in character. Lying in between are clubs organized to encourage hobbies, such as stamp collecting or collecting rare coins ; photography clubs, for the study of photography, including the taking and developing of pictures and the making of simple cameras ; radio clubs, organized both to construct radios and to stimulate interest in the radio ; aviation clubs, for making gliders and model aeroplanes, and for encouraging a more serious study of aviation ; nature study clubs, with the aim of making the boys at home in the world of nature ; bicycle clubs, for promoting interest in cycling and visiting interesting centres within riding distance ; carpentry clubs, for instruction in carpentry ; animal clubs, to stimulate the love of animals and to improve the stock ; and numerous other clubs, covering practically the whole range of boy-interest.

For the girls there are sewing clubs, hand-work clubs, reading clubs, poetry clubs, cooking clubs, and such other clubs as fulfil girl-desires.

For the women there are social clubs, study clubs, and work clubs—the club generally centering around some interest of the home or school.

The men, spending their days at work, are harder to organize, but when men's clubs are formed, the rallying point is generally some political or civic interest.

The boys' and girls' clubs ordinarily elect their own office bearers, who are responsible for the conduct of the club. A small fee is charged for club dues, the proceeds being used to meet general club expenses. In some instances, clubs contribute to the general house expenses, such as light; but in others they make no contributions. Each club has its adult counsellor who meets with the group, though keeping himself in the background as much as possible. The counsellor is generally an interested college student, or working person, who has keen interest in boys and girls. The club meetings vary from as often as twice a week to once every two weeks. The average settlement is generally crowded for space, and hence the frequency of meeting is dependent upon the availability of suitable club rooms. Care must also be taken not to interfere with school and home interests.

If each club can be given its own permanent room, it is all to the good, for then the club can begin to gather its own equipment. In fact in most slum neighbourhoods the furnishing of the club room is in itself an educational measure, by showing to the boys and girls what really can be done in beautifying an ordinary room. Some settlements furnish club rooms in a rather lavish manner at settlement expense, believing that it is of real value to the boys and girls to meet in a beautiful environment. Other settlements believe that the club rooms should be neat and clean but furnished more in line with the furnishing of the children's homes. The individual settlement will have to decide this for itself.

If by any chance a settlement club is made up of members of a Sunday School Class, it is a good policy to have the Sunday School teacher as the week-day

club leader, for the week-day activities of the club furnish excellent material for the Sunday lesson.

From the educational standpoint, settlement clubs purvey information, train in skill, and motivate idealism. Instruction is both by the direct and the indirect methods. No learning is single. The boy who is making a model aeroplane learns how to combine wood, glue, cloth and other materials so as to make a finished product that will fly. But he learns much more. He learns how to use and care for tools, and more important still, he acquires definite attitudes towards life. He may learn habits of neatness and concentration, or he may acquire the habit of dawdling and the attitude of "getting-by." The club leader must not only be alert to the immediate task in hand but also to the accompanying learnings, and strive to make of each club activity a real educational opportunity.

In some clubs it is the practice in connection with the business meeting for each member to respond to roll-call by recounting some good deed that he has done during the week. Thus *A* has helped an old lady to carry a heavy load; *B* has guided a blind man; *C* has fetched water and wood for his mother; etc. My opinion is that this practice tends to bring into the limelight, as the unusual, things that should be done as a matter of course every day and forgotten. It also tends to promote lying among lazy and indifferent boys who have done no good deeds and yet invent them, and causes imaginative boys to magnify their accomplishments out of all proportion to what actually took place. It would seem better that the attitude of helpfulness should be cultivated through actual club situations.

The club leader must not be just a willing person. He or she must also be a person who actually knows children. If such leaders are not available they can be trained. In every settlement club there are boys and girls who differ in their general characteristics and attitudes. The leader must sense these differences

and do his best to cope with them. To consider a few typical cases will, I believe, be of value.

1. *A* is a *headstrong* boy. He comes to the carpentry club and although he knows nothing about the proper use of tools, in his own mind he thinks he knows everything. The club leader endeavours to show him how to use a fret-saw properly; but *A* already knows, and in a few moments the blade snaps. *A* says that the blade was a very poor one. The instructor knows that it was a good one. Shall he bring the matter to an issue then and there by telling *A* either to obey instructions or to get out of the class? Shall he ridicule *A* before the other boys? Shall he assign to *A* a task of such complexity that *A* must come to him for advice? Shall he apparently disregard the incident, seeking to win *A* through a prolonged friendship? What else might he do?

2. *B* is the '*show-off*' type. He is always trying to assume a place of prominence before the other boys. He thinks that he is extremely clever. Unlike *A*, he is willing to accept instruction, but he makes himself obnoxious both to his fellow club members and to the club leader. Do you see any place to take hold of this situation? Is there any possible connection between the "*show-off*" type and leadership? If you were the club leader would you attempt to make or break this boy? How would you go about it?

3. *C* feels himself to be *inferior*. He is younger than the other boys though in the same class at school. The other boys in the club use him as the focus for many of their jokes, which serves to aggravate his already existing sense of inferiority. Would it be better to transfer *C* to another club or keep him where he is? Do you think he might well become the leader of a club of smaller boys? Might it be possible to assist him to develop certain latent capabilities, that he might become respected by his present club associates? Does inferiority in one sport or activity, necessarily mean inferiority in all sports or activities?

4. *D* is *easy-going*. He seems to lack initiative. He appears to have a good physique, and yet he never seems to be able to stir up enthusiasm about anything. The things he attempts he does well, but one always feels that he could do them better. How would you go about it to fire his enthusiasm? Do you think he senses the connection between his present attitude and his possible future? Does it seem as if any big idea had ever captured his imagination? Might a directed course of reading help him to find himself? Would it help any to bring him into contact with contagious personalities? Might it be better just to leave him alone?

5. *E* is a child of *impulse*. Yesterday he was interested in the radio. To-day his interest has shifted to aviation. To-morrow he may be interested in agriculture. He wants to join every club, but loses his interest in all of them. The boys call him Joseph, because at some time or other he has worn the colours of every club on his coat. What is really the matter with *E*? Should the club leader take a firm stand and force him to stay with the first club he joins? He says he is interested in this and that, but has his real interest ever been captured? How would you go about it to capture it?

6. *F* is *mischievous*. He is not a "show-off", but he just happens to see the funny side of things, and he does enjoy playing jokes. At times he breaks up a serious club meeting by interpolating some apparently innocent remark which sends the boys into roars of laughter. He is well-liked by the boys, but the leader sometimes finds his outbreaks rather annoying. Is there any danger that *F*, if not corrected, will become a nuisance? Would you attempt to curb him or let him go? Do we want everyone in the world to be exactly alike? Might *F*, if given responsibility, develop into a good leader?

7. *G* is *quick-tempered*. He gets angry at the slightest pretext. He doesn't stay angry, but for a few moments he creates a rare storm. Sometimes

his outbreaks lead to shipwreck. Do you think it would do much good to talk to *G* about his temper? Do you think some of his energies might be turned into more constructive channels? Would athletics be of any help in this connection? As a general policy do you prefer a positive or negative attack upon behaviour problems?

8. *H* is *careless*. He takes no particular pride in his dress and always turns out slipshod work. He never bothers to clean up his part of the litter in the club room. He never offers to put away his materials. He really doesn't mean too, but he always throws added work on the other boys. Should the leader speak to him about the real meaning of co-operation? Should he compel him to take his share of the club work? Can one shirk one's duties in later life? Some one says that *H* should be made the caretaker of the club materials. Do you agree?

9. *I* is *awkward*. He has grown too fast and does not seem to have good co-ordination. He stumbles over his feet and does not seem to know how to use his hands. He often spoils his handwork and seldom turns out a neat, finished product. Should he be scolded or encouraged? Would a graded course of physical exercises be of any value to him? Should the other boys be allowed to make jokes at his clumsiness? Would it be wiser to protect *I* or to compel him to face jibes, on the ground that the wider world offers no quarter? Are there some diseases for which a ready sympathy is the best remedy?

10. *J* is *inattentive*. The club leader gives a talk, and *J* has no idea what the leader is talking about. He is thinking of the next cricket match or watching a bird outside the window. When anyone attempts to carry on a conversation with him, he may be startled to receive a reply wholly foreign to the matter under discussion. This state of affairs is annoying to a leader, to say the least. If you were the club leader would you unhesitatingly condemn *J*? Is *J* really inattentive or is he attending to something else? Do

you think any blame might attach to the club leader ? Should every boy be interested in the same thing ? Has the answer to this question any bearing upon our present system of education ?

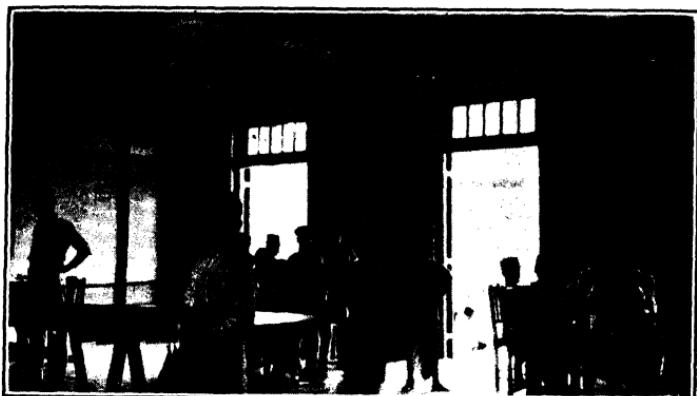
These ten cases by no means exhaust the list of types of children ; and of course there are overlappings in the types listed. They have been discussed for the purpose of showing that the club leader must be alert. The club programme that will appeal to one child will not appeal to all children. The settlement club does not aim at conformity. It aims at individual development. It wants each child to make the very best use of his own abilities. At times, repression may be necessary, but on the whole the club leader aims at development and redirection. The leader must know modern educational theory. He must know the child desire for response and recognition and capitalise it. He must know the use of appreciation as an educative device. When properly conceived the club is no less a school than the formal classroom.

In India there cannot be a wholesale adoption of Western clubs and club methods. The interests of Indian boys and girls are not wholly the same as the interests of Western children. Our experience in the Neighbourhood House in Bombay has been quite different from our Western experience. When the Neighbourhood House was first opened, eight different groups of boys asked to be organized into clubs for indoor games. The principal reason for this request was that the Jews, Mahomedans, Hindus and Christians did not relish the idea of playing together in the common game-room. To-day each one of these clubs has disbanded ; for as the boys of the different groups came to know each other more intimately, they came to appreciate the good points in one another, and desired to play together. At any time now one may see boys and men of any caste or creed playing side by side. The whole game-room has become one big club.

On the other hand, the clubs organized with a definite purpose are still in existence. Thus the girls'

clubs for making scrapbooks and toys for the hospitals meet regularly. The women's sewing classes are fixtures. The debating club has held scores of debates on every conceivable subject. The musical club meets nightly and has done very good work. The dramatic club has put on several praiseworthy productions. The boxing club has made a name for itself in amateur boxing in the Bombay Presidency. A club of Indian Christians is meeting regularly for social and cultural purposes. Attempts to organize the smaller boys into clubs have not been successful,—due in large measure to the irregularity of the leadership. Club leaders who do not take their responsibilities seriously are much worse than no leaders at all. We are still experimenting, however, and are not yet prepared to say that Indian boys prefer mass clubs to small group clubs.

The nature of the club will vary with the character of the community. An agricultural centre will obviously demand a different type of club from that of the congested city district. Boy Scouts and Girl Guides have proven their usefulness both in India and in the West. The danger is that an unimaginative Scoutmaster may make the programme too rigid to be of the highest value. The Scout programme must always be adapted to local need. Nature study clubs can be organized to good advantage in India. Handwork of various kinds can be encouraged. Women's and girls' clubs should both emphasize better homes—sewing, cooking, beautifying the home, and the care of children—and provide the cultural opportunities which are so rare among the lesser educated and working class women. To organize working women into clubs will be quite difficult, but even a few social gatherings on mill-holidays are of real value in brightening the women's lives. In the Neighbourhood House we have found our Infant Welfare Centre to be a women's club of high value. There is no formal organization, but as the women come together each morning they compare their babies, offer each other bits of advice, and under the influence of the health visitor encourage



"In every settlement club are boys...who differ in characteristics."

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**"In the Neighbourhood House we have found our Infant Welfare
Centre to be a Women's Club of High Value."**

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one another to make their homes more cleanly and safer for their children. At intervals we hold picture shows for these same women to bring them into closer touch with the wider world.

The only rule that can be laid down for the organization and conduct of clubs is, "Be Alert!" Study Neighbourhood needs ; get near to the thinking of your constituency ; find out what the people desire and try to meet these needs. If necessary, try to stimulate needs. But don't start clubs simply for the sake of multiplying organizations. In club work as in other activities, quality is to be desired more than quantity. Let each club be a club with a purpose—a club that really "leads out" to something more.

CHAPTER V. EDUCATING THROUGH CLASSES.

ALTHOUGH the settlement educates through play and through clubs, its most serious educational efforts are carried on in the classroom. Some settlements are organized for the purpose of imparting instruction in the various branches, while others carry on classroom work alongside their other activities. The curriculum of some settlement schools is standardized along orthodox lines, while other schools are free, experimenting bodies. Some settlements organize classes for adults only, while others start with the nursery school and provide classes for all age groups.

In India the educational problem is a bit different from that of a country where there is universal free and compulsory education. In the United States, for example, every child is compelled by law to go to school. Furthermore, the schools provide instruction in such a wide variety of subjects that in many centres there is no particular need for outside classes. Experience in the various night schools with which I am acquainted in India indicates that there is a real danger that young boys will leave school and go to work in the day-time if they are permitted to attend classes at night. One would not wish to prevent such boys from continuing their studies, but at the same time the settlement has no desire to encourage boys to enter industry before they really have to, for it is a fundamental principle of the settlement that every child is entitled to a happy and protected childhood. By being aware of this difficulty the Principal of the settlement school can meet it according to his own best judgment. In the Neighbourhood House we were confronted with a rather unusual situation in one class, which is presided over by the Urdu Master of a Municipal Day School. A group of the Master's day pupils requested the privilege of also attending

his night classes. Since it appeared to us that the advantage gained through night study would not appreciably shorten the school careers of the boys, and since we saw in the night school a good opportunity of teaching the boys better study habits, we gave the desired permission. The Y. M. C. A., in its social welfare work in Bombay, refuses to admit children to night classes, on the ground that the education of the children is a Municipal responsibility. The answer which one will give to this whole question depends in large measure upon one's conception of the settlement school. Is it to be simply another school, or is it to be something different?

I would feel that there is little need simply for more schools upon the day school pattern. Settlement classes provide an opportunity to get away from the stereotyped curriculum, and to assist the students to adjust themselves to their environment. As one studies the large number of mission schools receiving Government grants-in-aid and centering their work about Government curricula, and sees how like peas-in-a-pod they are, one cannot but feel that the mission schools are missing a real creative opportunity. The settlement, being free, can experiment in education, and it may point the way to educational progress.

Two conflicting conceptions of education are in the field to-day. One group thinks of education in terms of knowledge. The other looks at education more as a process of adjustment. The advocates of "knowledge" say that in the course of its history the race has acquired valuable experience which the child should know. The acquiring of this information will prepare the child to meet whatever situations may later arise. The advocates of "adjustment" say that stored knowledge is of little value. The proper way to learn is through actual life-situations—to learn to adjust one's self to changing circumstances.

Settlement classes can make a real contribution to the cause of education. In the first place, the settlement has no commitments. Unless it is foolish enough

to become tied up by the wishes of donors, it can do as it pleases. In the second place, people come to the settlement of their own free will. There is no compulsion. This means that there is already a foundation of interest upon which to build.

Let us start then where people are. Roughly speaking, a man has four major interests:

- (a) Home.
- (b) Health.
- (c) Work (or School).
- (d) Community Relationships.

Other interests may be added, but these few interests will give an illustration of method.

The *home* is a natural point of contact. Everyone has shared, and probably at the moment is sharing, the experiences of family life. The subject may be opened through simple conversations. Through just "talking it over", points of agreement and disagreement will come to the fore. Varying ideals of home life will be presented, some of which will seem to be good and others questionable. Each point of view should be treated seriously, and carefully analysed. The teacher should talk as little as possible, keeping his own point of view to himself, but at the same time keeping the discussion moving. The relationships of husband and wife will be considered.

Is there any justification for the man being considered as the master of the home?

Is it fair for a woman to work all day in the mills or fields, and then to spend the late night and early morning hours in homework?

Can there be more co-operation in the house work?

Does a man's responsibility towards his family end when he has provided it with food and clothing?

What is the ideal husband-wife relationship?

There will also be consideration of the parent-child relationship.

What does parental love really mean?

Is love an adequate guide for the ordering of home relationships?

Should a child be allowed to do as he pleases?

Has the child any responsibilities towards his parents?

Do the parents owe the child anything in addition to food and shelter?

Are parents responsible for the out-of-the-home conduct of the child?

Can the school or any other agency take over the responsibilities of parents ?

If a child is permitted to roam the streets and goes wrong, who is to blame ?

How can children help to make the burdens of their parents lighter ?

Is there any way to prevent uneducated parents and educated children from growing apart ?

Then there is the relation of children to children, of older children to younger children, and *vice versa*.

Then there is the relation of children to children, of older children to younger children, and *vice versa*.

Are the child-child relationships marked by co-operation and generosity ?

Does each child think only of his own interests, or is his thinking family-centric ?

What are the common causes of children's quarrels ?

How can these quarrels be prevented ?

One might then pass to a more general survey of what constitutes a happy home, considering such subjects as cleanliness, beautifying the home and its surroundings, and the unifying values of common reading and music. Every member of the class would draw as widely as possible from his own experience, and the teacher would introduce books, stories and such other illustrative materials as might be of value. Upon finishing the study the students will have a pretty clear idea of ideal home life, and better still, the course will not end with its formal completion. The ideas there generated will be of daily use throughout a lifetime.

Everyone is interested in *health*. If the settlement is located in a large city, the vital statistics of the Board of Health may be a good point of departure.

Why is it, for example, that the Second Nagpada section of Bombay has the highest death rate in the city ?

Why do more children, between the ages of 1 and 5, die in this section than in any other section of Bombay ?

Why is there such a high malaria death rate ?

Are the individual residents of the section in any way responsible ?

Is there any connection between cleanliness and health ?

Why do people not take as much interest in keeping their yards clean as they do the inside of their houses ?

Is there any harm in urinating or defecating wherever one happens to be ?

Is there any connection between little children crawling about in the dirty alley-ways and a high child death rate ?

Should children eat whatever sweetmeats the sweets-vendor may offer ?

Is there any connection between flies and sickness ?
 Is there any connection between mosquitoes and sickness ?
 Where do mosquitoes breed ?
 Are there any breeding places in your neighbourhood ?
 How can these breeding places be abolished ?
 Should religious customs interfere with furthering the public health ?—witness, *e.g.*, the opposition to closing open wells in Bombay City.
 What diseases are most common in your locality ?
 Which of these diseases are preventable ?
 Do you see any connection between stuffy rooms and tuberculosis ?
 How could one prevent cholera, small-pox, plague, enteric and the other diseases which take such a heavy toll ?
 Are venereal diseases serious ?
 Why or why not ?
 Is there any connection between child-marriage and healthy babies ?
 Is there any relation between sickness and badly cooked food ?
 What is the relation of health to efficiency ?
 What is the relation of health to happiness ?
 What is the relation of health to prosperity ?
 Draw up a simple code for keeping physically fit—applying it to babies, children and adults.
 Outline a programme of public health for your city or section of the city.

Here again we are not simply learning a bit of information to be forgotten. We are dealing with living materials, affecting each and every member of the class.

Turning now to *work*. Find out where the various members of the class work.

Why do they work ?
 Is there more to work than making money ?
 Is work drudgery or happiness ?
 If drudgery, is there any way to make it a joy ?
 What is the relation of daily work to the total life of the world ?
 Is all work equally useful ?
 Is the agriculturist of more value to society than the mill worker ?
 What does the employer owe the worker ?
 What does the worker owe the employer ?
 What is the relation of wages to happiness and health ?
 What is the relation of hours to happiness and health ?
 Draw up a code for the right conduct of business from the standpoint of the employer.
 Draw up a human-relations code from the standpoint of the employee.

If the community is mainly agricultural, the class might consider such questions as the following:

What is the income of the average agricultural family ?
 How much does it cost the family to live per year ?
 If the farmer is in debt, endeavour to analyse the causes.
 If he has a surplus, endeavour to account for the surplus.

What crops are raised in the locality ?
 Are they the most profitable crops that might be grown ?
 Is the farmer's time fully occupied ?
 If not, is there any supplementary industry in which he might engage ?
 What type of agricultural implements are used ?
 Could new implements be employed to better advantage ?
 Could new methods of cultivation be introduced to advantage ?
 Could more wells be sunk with profit ?
 How does the farmer market his crop ?
 Could the method of marketing be improved ?
 Would co-operative societies be of any help ?
 Is the money-lender essential to Indian agriculture ?
 Is the farmer's stock a profitable proposition ?
 Could the situation be improved in any way ?
 Can anything be done about the fragmentation of land ?
 Can any waste land in the vicinity of the village be reclaimed ?
 Is there any connection between intelligence and good farming ?
 What about farm labour ?
 Is it profitable to keep a boy home from school to scare away the crows ?
 Is it profitable to use children as fences ?
 Suggest a plan for the improvement of local agriculture.

If the members of the class are mostly students, this section might deal with *the school* and its problems. Thus,

Why does the school exist ?
 Why is not every child educated in his own home ?
 Why does the state regard it worthwhile to support education ?
 Is the school of any assistance to the state ?
 Could it be doing more than it is now doing ?
 What is the function of the teacher ?
 Try to draw up a picture of the ideal teacher
 Is this teacher actually found in the present-day schools ?
 Why or why not ?
 What about school discipline ?
 Are rules essential to the conduct of life ?
 Is the best discipline superimposed or does it come from within ?
 How can the latter type of discipline be cultivated ?
 What studies are in the school curriculum ?
 Why are they there ?
 Could you suggest any better curriculum than the one now in use ?
 Is it of any value to a student to have to prepare lessons regularly ?
 Of what value ?
 Does it make any difference how lessons are prepared, i.e., in a neat or slovenly way ?
 Are the teacher-pupil relationships in the school ideal ?
 How could they be improved ?
 How could the pupil-pupil relationships be improved ?

Is the school closely enough related to the home ?
 How can school and home help each other ?
 Is there any connection between the life of the school and the life of the outside world ?
 What connection ?
 Make a detailed statement regarding the ideal relationship between school and community.

We turn now to *community relationships*, the problems which have to do with man's wider environment. Question the class as to why they live in this particular city.

Why do they live in this particular section of the city ?
 Do the individual families live to themselves or do they share the wider life of the neighbourhood ?

Is there any real neighbourhood consciousness ?
 Why or why not ?
 Has the mill worker any interest in the problems of the clerk ?
 The clerk in the problems of the mill worker ?
 Has the Hindu any interest in the life of the Mahomedan ? *Vice versa* ?
 How can diverse population groups be brought closer together ?
 How large a percentage of the neighbourhood population has recently come from rural areas ?

Why did it come ?
 What differences are there between rural life and the life of the city ?
 How can the newly arrived labourer be made to feel more at home in his new environment ?
 What is the relation of this section of the city to the city as a whole ?
 Who pays for sweepers, watering the streets and for street lights ?
 Who supports the police and fire departments ?
 Who governs the city ?
 What voice has this section of the city in the city government ?
 Who are its representatives ?
 How are they chosen ?
 Are they doing their work well ?
 If conditions in this locality need improvement to whom shall the citizens go ?

What have the citizens of any locality the right to expect of the municipality ?

What agencies are making for the improvement of civic life ?

What agencies are harmful ?

How can the good be strengthened and the harmful weakened ?

What is the responsibility of the individual citizen ?

It may be deemed wise to carry the study still further into national and international relationships.

In this scheme of education, the illustrations of which are extremely fragmentary, teacher and pupil alike are engaged in a common quest of discovery—

the discovery of how the life that is now being lived may be more fruitful. The curriculum is continually tested in the laboratory of experience, for it arises out of human life. The few subjects suggested above may be multiplied into as many as necessary in order to get at the actual heart of daily life. And unless I am very much mistaken, the formal school subjects which are of most worth will sooner or later be called into play to make their contribution.

Unfortunately, I am describing in this chapter a scheme of education which we in the Neighbourhood House have not yet tested. Three years is a very short time to get a completely new enterprise under way and to have every department functioning smoothly. But it is the goal towards which we are working, and I hope will soon realize. The classes which we have thus far started are classes arising out of neighbourhood needs. It is our general policy to start no class for which there has not been a genuine demand. Our English classes have arisen mainly from the desire of the students to secure better positions through a knowledge of English. A few students have the desire to become acquainted with that which is best in English literature, but they are in the minority. Our business classes have arisen from the same desire of the young men to better their business prospects by a knowledge of shorthand and typewriting. Our Urdu school contains the boys mentioned above, who are receiving double instruction, and a number of illiterate men who have a sincere desire to become acquainted with the mysteries of reading and writing. The Marathi school also contains beginners, and a group of older boys who have been compelled to leave school for work in the mills and who are continuing their education. A class in motor mechanics was started to assist a group of Jewish taxi drivers and their assistants, but unfortunately was compelled to close because of business demands upon the instructor's time. A group of apprentices from a neighbouring iron works requested a class in the theory of electricity to supplement their practical work, which demand

we are meeting. Even the conventional classes are of value in keeping men literate, and under a skilled teacher can open up wholly new vistas to working boys and men.

The question of English *vs.* the Vernaculars must be decided by the individual settlement, but it would seem in most instances that vernacular classes would be more fruitful.

A difficulty which confronts the adult educator is the lack of continuity. So many workmen are here to-day and gone to-morrow. Fortunately in the Nagpada Neighbourhood we have a relatively stable population, but in the mill area proper the heavy labour turnover presents a serious educational problem. I would regard this situation as an argument in favour of the "life" curriculum, for a man who has spent only a few weeks in discussing fundamental relationships has gained something far more important than an imperfect knowledge of the alphabet.

A further difficulty is the lack of trained teachers, but this problem is not insuperable, for the settlement director with the will to find the right men will find or make them, and often the made men prove themselves to be the best.

For the wholly illiterate, there is the method of visual instruction, a method largely employed in mass adult education. Good lantern slides are obtainable with little difficulty, and teach their own lessons. Similarly the drama is a powerful educational agency.

The genius of settlement education is its willingness to experiment. Its only end is to serve its community in the most effective fashion. Whenever it loses its flexibility it is time for some agency in closer touch with life to step forward to rejuvenate or to replace it.

CHAPTER VI.

EDUCATING THROUGH THE ARTS.

IN the garment-workers strike in the city of Chicago in 1910, the strikers held various parades through the principal streets of the city in an endeavour to enlist public sympathy for their cause. In one of these processions a banner appeared bearing the following words : "We want bread, and roses too!"—the meaning of course being that the strikers desired something more than a bare subsistence. They wanted a chance to enjoy the beauties of life. The settlement schools train for breadwinning, but they also offer roses. They help men to be better workmen, but they also help men to enjoy life's treasures by opening up hitherto unknown fields of art, literature, music and the drama.

The ordinary settlement is generally located in a somewhat unattractive environment. Since the settlement purpose is to live with the people where they are, there is seldom space for attractive gardens and for the beauty that is found in the more favoured sections of the city. The immediate environment of the settlement is generally one of shops, factories and crowded dwellings. The poetry of life seems far removed.

But just because of the unattractiveness of the external environment, the settlement is more determined to bring colour into the lives of its neighbours. It wants men to see that there is more in life than work, sexual relationships and sleep. It wants women to forget the drudgery which is so often their portion, and it wants children to grow up with an appreciation of the highest and the best.

The first offering of the settlement is the offering of art. As Professor Ames has so well pointed out in his excellent book, *Religion*,* "Art furnishes the

* Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1929, p. 104 ff.

means and methods for the fullest and richest expression of man's experience. It employs forms and symbols for putting the immediate and concrete events into settings and perspectives which are idealistic and imaginative. It combines the real and the ideal, the immediate and the remote, the causal and the meaningful. It illuminates the present with the inheritance of the past and with the outreaches of the future. By it the instant and the given are generalised upon the scale of the wished-for and the possible..... The thread of human life which may appear small and tenuous in its prosaic routine and hard sequence of events is revealed as imbedded in a great texture of fabrics and patterns, coloured and toned in a wealth of relations. The 'Song of the Lark,' by Breton, takes a simple peasant girl in the field at sun-rise and portrays in her posture and uplifted face her rapt response to this voice of nature. It suggests realms to which her spirit answers with eagerness and wonder. She is then not merely a drudge of the soil, but upon her face glows the evidence that she responds to an ideal life of joy and beauty. She typifies unnumbered peasants regal with a life rich in dreams and shapes which hallow and transform the work-a-day life of toil and care. And thus not only is she a type of peasant life, but of all human beings. Therefore everyone finds something akin to himself in her listening, wistful face. The picture is also the expression of the artist. By it he has released his own spirit and conveyed the meaning of a common scene in terms of the idealization of an ordinary, familiar situation whose beauty and significance would too easily escape the eye.....The artist makes natural events vibrant with his own imaginative conception of their ideal portent."

To help men to understand these things the better, many settlements have organized classes in art appreciation, in which they study pictures and endeavour to recapture the spirit of the artist. Some settlements make a practice of borrowing good pictures from galleries or individual painters for exhibition to their

neighbours. Others arrange regular trips to art galleries for the purpose of study. Any settlement can secure good lantern slides or prints of worth-while pictures at a reasonable cost.

But the settlement would not be true to its function if it were content simply to study the art of others. It desires to encourage the creative spirit, and for this purpose it organizes classes in both drawing and painting. It does not insist that the work of the students shall follow along established lines. It believes with Professor Ames that "when art becomes merely repetitious and merely multiplies copies of masterpieces it is decadent and stricken with age. Living art continues to extend its themes and to display novel forms." So art should reflect the general life of society.

The settlement further believes that all art is not to be found on canvasses. It helps its students to see the beauties of nature, of the stars, the sea, the trees and flowers. It helps them to see the beauties in every-day living, the artistic value of the fields and workshops. It endeavours to instil the artistic spirit into men and women who will never paint a picture. It knows that "in the degree to which any man puts into his life imaginative construction of thought and feeling, he is an artist." And the settlement seeks to encourage artistic living.

Closely related to art is the settlement offering of literature. Plenty of people who use settlement facilities know *how* to read, but they do not know *what* to read. They find their deepest satisfaction in perusing the daily papers, in reading trashy stories, or spelling out the captions at the cinema. The reading level of others has risen to the book stage, but not yet to the *good* book stage. The settlement endeavours to help its constituency to understand the best literature.

A good writer, like a good artist, takes a familiar subject and clothes it with new meaning. The novelists whose works have lived the longest have not been the novelists who have created strange and fantastic

situations and persons, but the writers who have seen the unusual in the usual, and who have exalted the commonplace. The characters who charm are the familiar characters in whom the writer reveals hitherto unsuspected depths of strength and beauty. At the same time, however, both prose writers and poets must be allowed to soar. The inner soul of the man which seeks expression dare not be denied. Literature, like art, cannot be confined to any single pattern. To be true to itself, it must fully express itself.

In introducing its students to good literature it is necessary for the settlement to proceed cautiously, and to start where the students are. To hand out a meaningless book to an aspiring student may quench the flame of desire then and there. The student must pass through the milk stage before beginning the eating of solids. But the milk must be good milk, selections from good writers, chosen for their power and simple dignity. The study of vernacular literature should be encouraged. Our people should be acquainted with that which is best in their own heritage. But to those who are capable of receiving them, there are also treasures in English, acquaintance with which cannot but make a life the richer. There are available to-day various 'English School Readers', containing selections of rare beauty which can be used as a preliminary to the study of complete books.

The settlement school is not primarily interested in grammatical analysis. It is more interested in attempting to grasp the author's complete picture than to deal with the small details in the picture. Word-study killeth, but the spirit giveth life. The soul of the author can never be discovered through an analysis of structure; indeed, a study of structure may deaden the spirit of many potential authors.

The settlement should not only encourage its students to read, but also to write. It should urge them to be true to their own selves and not strive to be colourless copies of others. A simple couplet arising from the depth's of one's own experience, may be of infinitely

more worth to the world than a powerless imitation of Tagore or Tennyson. Literature reflects a life within, and if the spark is not there, no quantity of words can evoke a fire.

If the study of literature in the settlement only succeeds in turning out readers and writers, the school has failed. The real test of the vitality of the study is its issue in daily life. Is it stimulating to imaginative living? Are the students of the school able to rise above their environment, to break immediate shackles, and to live in their thoughts with the masters of the ages? The literary section of the settlement school should be the great liberator, setting bond-men free.

To say that Indians love music is simply reiterating a truism. Music in India is natural, spontaneous and unrestrained. The young man passes down the busy bazaar street piping on a reed as unconcernedly as though he were alone in the open fields. The water-drawer sings at the well. The woman sings at her grinding. The cartman, whether on the crowded city thoroughfare or on the lonely country road, sings as he goes, without the slightest trace of self-consciousness. The cooly makes his load lighter by sharing it with song. In the dark passages of the Bombay chawls, following the day of toil, it is a common thing to hear the bhajans of the workers, often carrying on into the early hours of the morning. The villagers gather for song beneath the stars, singing that is participated in by young and old alike. The settlement does not need to spend much time in encouraging music, its opportunity is rather in the realm of quality and musical appreciation.

Speaking generally, the music of the people seems to exercise four major functions. It provides simple enjoyment, points out a way of escape, encourages to new achievement, and expresses aspiration.

The settlement should be known as the place where people can come to hear good music. It should arrange concerts and bhajans by local talent, and it should provide opportunity for hearing artists of more than

local reputation. Some of the audience will be able to listen critically, but the larger number will find their satisfaction in uncritical enjoyment. The concert has provided good entertainment. The music has been tuneful, rhythmical and satisfying. The evening has been a pleasant one and the time has been well-spent.

But in every audience there are those to whom music means much more. To many who spend their days in hard, uninteresting toil; to many who live in drab, unwholesome surroundings; to many who are caught in the mesh of circumstance,—music offers a way of escape. The cares of the day and the fears of the morrow are forgotten. The present alone is real and meaningful. A new world comes into being—a world which knows neither monotony, toil nor struggle. Hunger, pain and the pangs of disappointment are non-existent. During a few happy, carefree moments the hearer really *lives*.

To a still more limited audience, music encourages to new achievement. They enjoy, and they experience a measure of release, but they go further. The drabness of the day is forgotten, but better still, new strength is gained to meet the needs of the new day. Life may have its disappointments, but the music is as healing balm to the troubled spirit. New reservoirs of power are tapped. Failing limbs are strengthened. The shoulders are thrown back, the head is elevated, a new look enters into the eye, and a new determination into the heart. The morrow is no longer forbidding, it is an opportunity—a day for new achievement.

And then, there are always the few to whom music expresses their own highest aspirations. A programme of good music is no less than a 'spiritual bath'. It cleanses, refreshes and purifies. It washes away that which is mean, and base, and makes life the finer.

If music can thus effect the hearers, how much more can it contribute to those who are actual performers? In the Neighbourhood House we have from the beginning encouraged music. Starting on the appreciation

level of the people we have held bhajans, kirtans, and concerts. We have gathered our neighbours together for common participation in song. We are providing classes in musical instruction,—most of them still in a very elementary stage. We make use of the small harmonium, (I think, to the detriment of both the students' ears and voices) and we use the more delicate Indian stringed instruments,—those instruments which more truly express the musical quest of the people. We are attempting to help our students to understand good music, without wholly disparaging the social values of the more popular music. Some progress has been registered, but we still have a long way to go. The young working men who attend the classes feel an inner urge, but they experience difficulty in its expression. If we hope to look forward to anything really creative, I think we shall have to reverse our present policy and begin with the children, though continuing the adult classes because of the evident value which accrues to the students themselves. We also have before us a large opportunity in the field of musical appreciation, a field which up to the present we have scarcely touched. The interest in music is all about us. The problem of the settlement is how to capitalise this interest most wisely.

Love of the drama is also widespread in India. The Indian boy seems to be a born actor, portraying difficult characters in a manner which would do credit to an actor of experience. He loves to act whenever he is given the opportunity, and often spends his spare time in "taking-off" well-known local characters. In this sphere the settlement has a solid foundation upon which to build.

The test of good drama is the manner in which it succeeds in revealing human experience. A play of Shakespeare makes its appeal not only because it gives us a revealing insight into the life and customs of another day, but also because we see in the characters of Shakespeare a revelation of our own selves. As we read the stories of the men of old, we too experience

the emotions of love, hatred, disappointment, envy and desire. Their hopes are our hopes. Their successes are our successes, and their failures are our failures. We weep when they weep and we share their hours of gladness. Much of the power of the Bible lies in the dramatic ability of its writers. As we read many of the Bible stories we forget the lapse of years and we ourselves are experiencing the same intense emotions as did the men of Israel.

The settlement can contribute here in four main fields. It can encourage the reading of drama. It can encourage the performance of drama. It can encourage the writing of drama. It can dramatise and give colour to daily living.

Every settlement should have classes for the reading of drama. If vernacular drama is available, so much the better. If good vernacular drama is not available, it may be necessary to translate from other vernaculars or languages. At the Neighbourhood House we have read plays in Urdu, Marathi and English. Each play need not be performed. The majority never will be. But there is real value in knowing something of the wealth and variety of dramatic literature. There is value in a comparative approach to the same general type of problems. There is value in knowing the manners and morals of people in different countries and of different generations. The effect of acquainting one's self with a wide range of dramatic literature is like unto climbing a high hill and seeing hitherto unknown territory lying at one's feet. It is like approaching the seacoast from the mainland on a sweltering hot day and being revivified by the cooling breezes. The man who has lived with the immortals for even brief periods is never the same again. He has made new friends and discovered new interests, which may be more real to him than his immediate environment. He has changed from a citizen of a congested slum to a citizen of the ages.

The performance of drama may be of three general kinds. It may be the performance of well-known

plays already written. It may be the performance of new, original plays. Or it may be the adaptation of existing literature of dramatic power. In the past the first type of performance largely prevailed. To-day more and more emphasis is being placed upon the development of the latent power of the group, which may express itself either in new creations or in adaptations. The most popular method of young people's dramatization is the latter. Scenes are re-enacted from history. Folk-tales of the people are reborn and presented in new dress. Tales from religious literature are made to live.

This method is of real educative value, for it compels those who would act first of all to steep themselves in the atmosphere of the period, that they may correctly reproduce the background as well as the inner thoughts and the outward speech of the participants. Serious undertakings of this nature are really a school curriculum, for they include the study of history, geography, language, art, religion—in fact every subject which has light to offer on the theme in hand. The actors themselves being the authors of the script, each member feels himself to be a living part of a production instead of just a speaker of words.

Simplicity should be the keynote of all amateur production. Good scenery cannot make up for bad acting, but good acting can easily make the audience forget the presence of inadequate scenery. If a proper balance can be struck between the two, so much the better, but the emphasis must be first and foremost upon the acting. If the actor himself cannot live imaginatively in the character of the one whom he would portray, he has no chance of helping the audience to live with the character. There is little hope of helping others to experience that which we have not experienced ourselves. Letter-perfect lines are nothing, unless they are backed by a spirit, for the cultivation of which settlement-drama must continually strive.

I have referred to one type of dramatic writing, *viz.*, the group reconstruction of existing literature

with dramatic values. But the settlement school must also allow place for and encourage independent effort. Whether or not these plays are performed means little. The creative urge must be satisfied. That which is contained within must out. Even crude efforts should not be despised, for who knows but that through this medium of expression some wandering soul may find its home.

To those who learn to live imaginatively in the lives of others the secret of social life itself is revealed. Without sympathetic imagination, without putting one's self in the place of another, there is little hope that men can live together well. The whole of life is a co-operative venture, and full co-operation is dependent upon understanding. Business needs dramatic imagination to solve its employer-employee problems. Nations need it to solve their communal and racial problems. The world needs it if we ever hope to attain to universal peace. The ferment that is set stirring in some obscure settlement may be the means of leavening the lump.

CHAPTER VII.

EDUCATING FOR CHARACTER.*

ALTHOUGH the settlement movement received a direct initial stimulus from the Church, the settlement has, as far as possible, endeavoured to avoid any sectarian bias. The reason for this is not any hostility towards religion. The majority of the settlement leaders are men and women motivated by religious ideals. It is rather the feeling that the settlement has a wider mission than that of the sectarian Churches. The distinctive function of the Church is to propagate religion. Since each Church has its distinctive elements, the propagation of 'churchianity' tends to be a divisive factor in the life of the community. Protestants do not agree with Catholics Catholics do not agree with Protestants, and branches of the Protestant Church do not agree with one another. The settlement, on the other hand, attempts to be a unifying factor. As Woods and Kennedy have well pointed out,† "In neighbourhoods inhabited by representatives of two or more faiths, he (the neighbourhood worker) orders his activities so that each may reap its appropriate advantage among its normal constituency, and the neighbourhood as a whole be built up. As the neighbourhood changes, and new faiths appear, he can sometimes help the most recent comer in making adjustments to already established loyalties. It must be said, however, that temperamental and philosophical unsectarianism is often countenanced with very bad grace by a considerable proportion of the people and their ecclesiastical leaders. As a friend, the neighbourhood worker is considered luke-warm; as an outsider, insidious: he is criticized on the one hand because he is a propagandist, and on the other because he is not. But the

* A portion of this chapter appeared as an article in the *National Christian Council Review* for September 1928.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 322.

settlement must, as a rule, 'hew to the line', leaving entirely to the different branches of the Church in the neighbourhood to carry on the distinctive offices of religion and devoting itself to what is non-divisive and universal in local reconstruction."

It is very true that some settlements established and maintained by churches are doing excellent work ; but for the most part, the Church settlement-house or the institutional Church simply uses its activities as a lure to assist in carrying out its own particular propaganda ; and the neighbourhood recognizes it as such.

The non-sectarian settlement is able to act as the pastor to the neighbourhood as a whole. It can accept a definite moral responsibility for Protestants, Catholics, Hindus, Mahomedans and Jews. Its doors will be open to people of all religious faiths, and it will seek to capitalise the latent idealism in all religious communities. It will seek to make Christians better Christians, Hindus better Hindus, and Mahomedans better Mahomedans. It places the responsibility for evangelization where it logically belongs : upon the shoulders of the Church.

For this reason, the settlement does not engage in sectarian religious instruction. It does, however, accept responsibility for the building of character, though there is not universal agreement among settlements as to how this end can best be accomplished.

There are two general theories of character education. One school takes the position that character should be taught. Character is a composite of virtues ; to build character, therefore, it is necessary simply to classify the virtues and to teach the students certain facts about them. The underlying assumption is that the knowledge thus gained will find its issue in life. The second school looks upon character as a social product, more to be assimilated than taught. It would place less emphasis upon formal instruction and more emphasis upon character as a product of daily living.

To the members of the first school, character-education is a purely intellectual process. Honesty, loyalty,

purity, truthfulness and other virtues are set forth as desired ends and then the attempt is made to teach these virtues. Much of our Sunday School education has been of this type. Thus the starting point for a lesson on honesty is the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal." But when all has been said, is there any guarantee that "Thou shalt not steal" will carry over into life? Unfortunately not. *Knowing* the right is not synonymous with *doing* the right. Knowledge about a virtue is of little avail unless it can be so presented as to make its acquisition a vital experience. If the interest of the pupil can be so aroused that he feels himself actually sharing in the lesson situation; if he knows himself to be an active participant in that series of experiences which called forth the dictum,—then there is hope that for this individual the "Thou shalt not" may become a reality. But for the rank and file, the fact becomes simply a mental appendage. It is tabulated and filed away, covered with the dust of its own familiarity.

A further objection to a formal "learning of the virtues" is its unnaturalness. It is subject to the same criticism as reciting "good turns" in a club meeting. That course of behaviour which should be regarded as natural and ordinary is so brought into the limelight as to become artificial, stilted and unnatural. Instead of inculcating truth, formal instruction in the virtues may be the means of calling forth an aversion to truth.

The members of the "social product" school regard morality as an outgrowth of group-life. During the course of time the group builds up a body of custom and tradition, conformity with which marks a man as 'good', while the non-conformist is labelled as 'bad'. Thus in one generation a slave-holder, a heartless employer, or a ruthless militarist may be accounted good, while a Jesus or a Socrates is accounted bad. The difficulty is the failure to take into account the possibility of moral creativity. A code of morals is good only when it can be put to the test of intelligence.

Are the moral customs of the day really adequate to meet present needs ? If they are not, then social customs must be changed and new standards established. The accepted virtues must be reconceived continually in the light of new experience.

The Nagpada Neighbourhood House endeavours to build character through all activities. It seeks to provide an environment which stimulates to moral creativity. It takes people where they are, 'moral' according to the standards of their group, and attempts to place them within a different group which will give them a glimpse of a new morality.

"The fruit of the Spirit," said Paul, "is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." Accepting this statement as a point of departure, let us see how the "assimilation-theory" actually works out.

"The fruit of the Spirit is love." In the Nagpada Neighbourhood we have Muslims, Hindus, Jews, Christians, well-to-do, paupers, saints and sinners. We have men whose actions are coarse and brutal, men who engage in violent quarrels, and men making the most flagrant exhibitions of unloveliness. But at the same time we have the spirit of love. One has but to watch the mothers and babies, and the tender relationship exhibited towards small brothers and sisters to be sure of this. The problem before us is how to capitalize and increase the positive, and how to minimise and cast out the negative. To tell a father beating his adolescent daughter that "God is love," does not take us very far. But to win this father's confidence, to draw him into helpful companionships, to show him, by daily relationships with him, what love really means—these things do lead us forward. Multiply the procedure followed in this case—for it is an actual case—by dozens, and one has the idea of what we are trying to do.

"The fruit of the Spirit is joy." It is easy to point out that Jesus was a man of joy, but how to bring joy into joyless lives is another problem. Can a man



"The settlement purpose is to live with the people where they are."

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"The Visiting Nurse of the Settlement
instructs the mothers."

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without employment exhibit any great feeling of joy? Can families huddled together in dark and forbidding *chawls* be exuberantly happy? Can men and women working long hours, with their children uncared-for and running about the city streets, rejoice? Can a boy who has just discovered his sister locked up in a neighbourhood brothel leap with exultation? To assist in eliminating the causes of unhappiness is the problem to which we are addressing ourselves. Through our employment service we are helping men to find work. Through our public health service we are seeking to make the *chawls* more tolerable to live in, as well as using our influence to secure the demolition of those buildings which are no longer fit for human habitation. Through providing wholesome recreation we are endeavouring to keep children from wandering the streets. Through marshalling public opinion we are trying to do our share in bringing about the abolition of the 'segregated district' and its nefarious traffic. By actually being men of joy we seek to spread the contagion among our neighbours.

"Christ is the Prince of Peace." Does this teaching stop neighbourhood brawling and inter-communal strife? It does not. It needs to be translated into action. Neighbourhood brawls are in large measure the result of a lack of anything worth-while to do. Through our daily programme we are making every endeavour to provide worth-while classes, clubs and amusements. We are bringing Hindus and Muslims together in games and in face-to-face contacts that are showing them the artificiality of the divisions that have separated them and have resulted in overt conflict. We are seeking to make the peaceful attitude the ordinary, instead of the unique.

No one needs to tell the people of India about the virtue of long-suffering or patience. Here is one virtue among many that we missionaries can rather learn from them. And yet, even here there is the opportunity of making a contribution. Instead of gathering our youth into classes and pointing out to them that

Jesus waited for thirty years before he began his public ministry, we are teaching them to wait their turn at the swings, to refrain from interfering with other boys' games before they are finished, and encouraging them about the seemingly slow progress they are making in the classroom or in the overcoming of unworthy practices. These illustrations may appear to be relatively insignificant, but their significance lies in that they furnish the basis for important life-habits.

The lesson of gentleness can also be learned on the playground. Fighting is the one language which the boys of the street understand. To a stranger they will not exhibit their nobler side. But in their relationships with their own friends many of them are both gentle and altruistic. Our problem is to extend this feeling, and to assist them in sloughing off the fighting attitude, which is so often but a protective pose. The key to this is a friendship which invites confidences and makes its contribution in return. It is a by-product of daily living.

Goodness in the abstract can never be taught. "Be good," is regarded as good advice, but in the complex relationships of modern society, the good is not so simple. Goodness is an attitude towards life that demands constant re-interpretation. The "goods" of yesterday far too often hold back the moral progress of to-day. We can teach the ten commandments as a moral code, but it is in the daily round that goodness actually becomes a positive, vitalising force.

Every day we are visited by men with domestic difficulties, men without employment, men who feel themselves to have been unjustly treated; or by boys and girls, who having acquired the wisdom of the streets, are by nature suspicious and unwilling to place confidence in either the words or in the actions of their fellows. It is easy to recall Abraham of old, or to draw attention 'to the faith that removes mountains'; but the problem is how to make faith an active power in Bombay to-day and that is a matter of

demonstration. We endeavour to analyse the causes that have led to loss of faith, and see if in any way they can be remedied. We encourage the man through daily conversation, by bringing him into touch with men of faith, and slowly helping him to restore his lost confidence. We endeavour to demonstrate to our questioning children that their view of life is partial, and that suspicion is not a sound basis for a healthy society. We strive to radiate faith and confidence.

Meekness or gentleness often seems to be a hopeless virtue in a neighbourhood or in a world where force appears to be the only way of securing results. "Blessed are the meek," said Jesus; but the meek child too often discovers that the belligerent child has robbed him of his marbles! To be able to draw a line between proper self-respect and *braggadocio* is a difficult problem. It is a matter of individual cases, calling for encouragement here and reproof there, building up on one side and levelling down on the other. Each individual is a study in himself, and each case must be treated in a manner best suited to the individual temperament. But even in a relatively short period it is possible to note abundant evidence of real progress.

Temperance or self-control is again a matter of daily striving. It is gained neither by short cuts nor by the learning of the maxims. The Neighbourhood House endeavours to provide an atmosphere that will make this struggle less difficult.

The examples cited are by no means supposed to cover all the field of character development. They have been taken rather as an illustration of method. The settlement is not an ephemeral institution. It is a permanent factor. It settles in a section of a city and endeavours to identify itself with the life of that section. It sees its children become youths and adults, and rejoices with them in their development. It is in no hurry to secure immediate results. It builds, and it is its endeavour to build strong.

CHAPTER VIII.

LEAVENING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

THE early settlements did not pin their faith to buildings. The residents took simple quarters in those sections of the city where they felt the need to be the greatest, relying upon friendship as the method of carrying out their purpose. The early clubs met in the rooms of the residents, or in such quarters as were available near by. The ideal of the first settlers was that of the family. They were a family among families, and they tried in every way possible to preserve the home atmosphere. But as time went on, the settlements were compelled to expand. The rooms of the residents were no longer adequate to house the large numbers of people desiring to secure the benefits of the settlements. New buildings were erected, although the attempt was made to make them as homelike as possible. But in the last decades a new type of settlement building has emerged,—the large, institutional centre, sacrificing home atmosphere to utility. In the larger settlements, living quarters, class- and club-rooms and the other manifold services of the settlement are combined in one building or group of buildings, and the settlement becomes the neighbourhood centre.

The centralised institution has its advantages, but it also has its dangers. Whenever an institution tends to become an end in itself, it is time to beware. The true settlement is a fellowship and not a building. A building is only useful as it is a means of service to the larger community. When the larger community is lost sight of because of the size of the building, it is then time for a serious stock-taking. The settlement's reason for existence is the neighbourhood, and the neighbourhood and its needs must be kept first and foremost.

To serve the neighbourhood, it is essential that the settlement should know the neighbourhood. In a preceding chapter we have stressed the importance of the neighbourhood survey as a necessary adjunct to programme making. The settlement worker must know every street and building in the area. He must know the different races and classes of the neighbourhood, the kinds of homes in which the people live, and the relation of the physical environment to the lives of the people.

From the days when Miss Octavia Hill began her experiment of improving housing conditions through the intelligent interest of rent-collectors with social vision, down to the present, settlement workers have taken a keen interest in neighbourhood housing. They know the connection between bad housing and health, between bad housing and crime, and between bad housing and disorganized families. They use their influence to persuade landlords and municipal authorities to bring about improvement in housing. They carry on educational campaigns among the people themselves, showing them how they may make their living quarters more attractive.

The visiting nurse of the settlement instructs the mothers in elementary sanitation and hygiene. She demonstrates to them better methods of housekeeping. She shows them how to care for the babies and children. She drives home the connection between health and cleanliness—and not only does it once, but upon repeated visits. The Henry Street Settlement in New York City has as its prime interest the health of its neighbours, and over a long period of years has done a most significant work in this direction. The Nagpada Neighbourhood House is in close touch with 600 families through the daily visits of the nurses attached to its infant welfare centre.

But the public health service of the settlement does not stop with the homes. The interior of a home may be clean and neat, but if the surrounding area is filthy and disease-breeding, the family is not protected. The settlement believes in clean streets, in an effective

system of garbage disposal, and in paying attention to the sanitary condition of vacant plots. A few settlement workers have had themselves appointed sanitary inspectors in order that they might have the necessary authority to compel people to keep their premises clean. The majority, however, have themselves brought pressure to bear upon the sanitary authorities, and encouraged the people of the neighbourhood to insist upon a proper standard of cleanliness. They have fought the widespread idea that "anything is good enough for the slums." They have endeavoured to show that the people of the unfavoured sections of the city have just as many rights as do the people living on the sea-roads or upon the hill.

The third public health service of the settlement is keeping a watchful eye upon the food supply of the people. Clean homes and clean streets cannot counteract the harmful influence of unclean food. The settlement carefully observes the neighbourhood shops and seeks in every way possible to encourage cleanliness. It follows the food into the home and gives instruction in the proper way of cleaning it before it is served. It seeks to educate both children and parents regarding the danger of eating decayed fruit, fly-specked cakes and filthy sweetmeats. Some settlements have gone so far as to establish model shops and hotels, in order that their neighbours might have the opportunity of buying clean food and really seeing the proper way in which food should be handled.

But the home-service of the settlement does not end with instruction in public health. The settlement desires to know each and every person in the neighbourhood as a friend. It is understood that those who come to the settlement building will not long remain strangers, but the settlement goes further. It wishes to know the fathers and mothers and brothers and sisters of its constituency. The most important factor in any educational situation is the family. Preachers may preach and teachers may teach, but the home environment of the child is the biggest single factor in

determining how the child will act. When parents are opposed to or apathetic towards good movements, it is extremely difficult to counteract the influence of the home. When parents allow their children to roam the streets at will, and show no interest whatsoever in their moral welfare, the task of the settlement is very hard. It is for this reason that the settlement lays great stress upon home-visitation. It has faith in men and in the power of the friendly word. It knows that people do change their attitudes and it regards it as a privilege to have a share in working change. The home visitor of the settlement is pastor, teacher and friend—but the greatest of these is 'friend'.

Once the door of the home is opened through friendliness, the settlement finds new opportunities. One of the tragedies of city life is the way in which the older and younger generations grow apart from each other. Children do not understand their parents, and parents have the greatest difficulty in understanding their children. The school, the cinema show, and other influences tend to break down the old family solidarity. New ideas press to the fore, and there is a conflict of both ideas and ideals. The sympathetic settlement worker has a rare opportunity of acting as an interpreter. He shows that superiority and inferiority are not matters of old and new; that culture is not necessarily dependent upon school education; that change is not necessarily bad; and that underneath varying ways of doing things there may be the same spirit. The life of countless families has been enriched through this simple but essential service.

In every settlement neighbourhood there are the poor—and the very poor. When a settlement first enters a neighbourhood the news spreads quickly that a new charity has arrived, and immediately all the professional beggars in the area appear in the effort to get their share. But it is not long before the people come to realize that the settlement is not a charity, but a friend. The settlement may do acts of charity, but that is not its major function. As a friend, however,

the settlement endeavours to help those who are in need. For the most part the help does not consist in monetary assistance. It is rather an attempt to assist people to stand upon their own feet. This may be done in various ways. The man who is without work may be helped to secure employment. The breadwinner who is sick may be given proper medical attention so that he is once again able to earn his living. The man who is in the grip of the money-lender may be advanced a certain sum to pay off his debt, and then allowed to return this loan at his own convenience and at a reasonable rate of interest. The woman who does not know how to live within the family income may be initiated into the mysteries of budget-making. The families who get an adequate income, but who are unable to pull on because of waste, are given an education in thrift. The lazy are aroused and provision is made to help the under-nourished to secure more food. Men who are working at a pittance in blind-alley jobs are directed into jobs which give some hope of paying an adequate wage. New arrivals to the city are given advice during the critical period of adjustment. In every case the attempt is made so to deal with the situation that the person helped may be able to maintain his own self-respect. The settlement has no desire to pauperise its neighbours. It wants to see them strong and independent.

Closely allied to this service is the help the settlement endeavours to render in the field of vocational guidance. It makes every effort to discover the aptitudes and abilities of its neighbours, in order that each may work in the field where he will make the greatest contribution and secure the most satisfactory return. This service is particularly important in those sections where education is neither popular nor compulsory, and where children jump into the first job that offers itself, with no thought of the future consequences.

And still within the same general field is the settlement contribution to those who are not getting on because of their own mental attitudes. The settlement

encourages those who are discouraged ; attempts to put new life into habitual failures ; seeks to reason with those who are convinced that "the world owes them a living" ; tries to make men see their own faults, with the end in view of correcting them, instead of accepting the common complaint, "The boss disliked me, and so I lost my job." So many of the underprivileged have quirks and complexes which can be completely straightened out after careful and patient probing. The settlement visitor is in the very best sense, "a physician of souls".

As a further means of helping people to help themselves, some settlements have made ventures in the field of co-operation. They have assisted in establishing co-operative stores, co-operative benefit societies, and co-operative loan associations. In India the value of co-operation is coming more and more to be recognized, and there is no question but that the settlement can play its part in the movement.

In its attempt to know its neighbourhood, the settlement concerns itself with the bad as well as with the good. It seeks out the brothels, liquor shops, gambling-houses, and such other agencies as militate against the higher life. It finds the alley-ways and the corners where boys and young men congregate, and keeps a careful eye upon them. The settlement is an uncompromising foe of prostitution. It believes in the sacredness of personality, and can but condemn a system by which one person lives from the earnings of another's shame. It knows the economic waste of the liquor shops and the hardships that come to innocent families because of a father's gambling. Where possible, it seeks to drive liquor shops and gambling-houses out of existence. To drink or gamble may be a man's right ; but the settlement worker who sees the consequences in the homes of the poor can have but one opinion. If the liquor shop or gambling-house cannot be closed, the settlement seeks to cultivate its owner. Numerous cases are on record where the evils of drink and gambling have been mitigated

because of a friendly attitude on the part of the keeper of the house. Not without a sense of decency, many of these will respond to an appeal to prevent men of weak character from squandering their whole earnings for the pleasures of a moment.

In a similar way the settlement worker does not hesitate to make friends with the roughest element in the community. He sees the good in every man and accepts as his task the attempt to bring this good to its expression. Needless to say, the association "with publicans and sinners" will bring it criticism ; but better men than the average settlement worker have been brought to judgment for the same cause. The person who cannot bear criticism had better enter another line of work.

In every neighbourhood there are various clubs or institutions which are doing good work among their own membership. The settlement does not oppose these institutions. It attempts to co-operate with them. It does not regard itself as a competing organization, but as a strengthener of all good organizations. It welcomes outside organizations to the use of its facilities and attempts to enlist their interest in movements for neighbourhood betterment. The Nagpada Neighbourhood House has provided a meeting place for Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Hindu and Mahomedan organizations. It knows that it can count upon the help of a Jewish Club and a Catholic Club in any good work which it undertakes. By using existing Neighbourhood clubs as a nucleus, the settlement can stimulate neighbourhood interest in better schools, in better government, in playgrounds and such other matters as concern the welfare of the neighbourhood as a whole. This is particularly important in India, where practically all organizations are communal, and no single organization stands ready to offer leadership to all. If the settlement did nothing else than promote inter-communal unity, it would have an adequate reason for its existence in present-day India.

The settlement gives to the neighbourhood, but it

also shares with the neighbourhood. As a friend, it shares the joys and sorrows of its neighbours. On festival days and holidays, representatives of the settlement are happy to be included in the festivities. They know the drabness of the daily round and it rejoices their hearts to see their friends care-free and gay. If any festivals have within them elements which appear to be detrimental to the welfare of the people, the settlement either attempts to influence the leaders to lift the celebration to a higher level or organizes counter-activities to attract the holiday crowds. There is a special need for this latter service at the time of the *Holi* Festival.

Although in India the settlement should be opposed to a narrow communalism, it should encourage communalism of the better type. Each community has its own heritage and tradition. It has its folklore, music and manner of dress. The settlement does not believe that all people should be made to live after the same model. It believes that each community should be proud of its heritage and should live up to its own best ideals. But it does not stop there. It also desires that each community may know and appreciate the best in every other community. For this reason the settlement encourages varying groups to seek out that which is of most worth in their own culture and to share it with others. It believes that Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians and Jews should know much more about each other than they now know, and it tries to provide the opportunity for inter-communal contacts. It encourages the drama, music, and such other activities as will further a more intimate acquaintance. If small neighbourhood groups here and there can actually demonstrate inter-communal unity in their daily lives, others will observe it and the movement will spread. It is entirely conceivable that the extension of the settlement movement in India may usher in a new day of inter-communal co-operation.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SETTLEMENT AND PUBLIC QUESTIONS.

THE settlement has a unique educational opportunity in dealing with public questions, for it stands in the rôle of an interpreter, explaining the neighbourhood to the outside world, and the outside world to the neighbourhood. The majority of the people in the settlement area are people with a limited outlook. Their life moves very largely in the narrow circle of work and home. They are in the city, but not of the city. They know that a government exists ; but they have very few conscious points of contact with that government. The settlement, on the other hand, maintains touch both within and without. It tries to keep a proper perspective, to study thoroughly and to interpret well. It is engaged in a continuous adventure of understanding. It judges its success, not by the enhancement of its own prestige, but by the actual gains recorded in the lives of its neighbours. A little light here, a broader outlook there, a higher idealism yonder—these are its most satisfying rewards.

Situated for the most part in industrial neighbourhoods, the settlement has long had an interest in the problems of labour. The situation that confronted the early settlement residents was not unlike the situation which exists in the industrial centres of India to-day. There were the same disputes between employers and employees. There was the same awakening of a trade union consciousness. There was the same exploitation in small workshops, and the same unsatisfactory conditions of industrial housing.

To quote from Woods and Kennedy* :—“The trade union suggested itself as the best weapon with which to meet such conditions, and residents of Neighbourhood Guild, Hull House and other early settlements sought to bring about the organization of new locals

* *Op. cit.*, p. 170 ff.

by distributing literature in homes, on streets and at factory doors. New and struggling unions were offered the use of the settlement house. Where quarters were ample, more established unions became regular tenants. In a number of instances, substantial assistance was rendered in strikes, which were common during this period. Evidence of the violation of housing and labour laws was sought, and actions were instituted against offenders."

Settlement residents acted as arbiters in industrial disputes. They led in the agitation for permanent boards of industrial arbitration. They studied Socialism and other "isms" so that they might more fully enter into the mind of the workers. They stood for free speech and were ever ready to provide a platform for unpopular causes. At the same time, they realized that there were no short cuts to industrial peace, and counselled a policy of patience.

The settlement has a similar opportunity in present-day India. There is nothing more needed in the industrial centres than a sound policy of trade-unionism. But the trade unions are for the most part weak and ineffective. The leaders are much more often men with 'axes of their own to grind' than men who have the best interests of labour at heart. The movement greatly needs the intelligent interest of selfless leaders. If the settlement can help to provide this leadership it will be performing an extremely valuable function.

The settlement historically has also taken an active interest in social legislation, especially in measures for the protection of women and children in industry. It has both encouraged and carried out industrial investigations. Settlement residents have served as factory inspectors, in an effort to secure the proper enforcement of existing legislation. Although the settlement is the friend of both employer and labourer, it does not hesitate to criticise either party. It stands squarely for industrial justice.

Factory legislation in India has followed a normal course of development, and to-day Indian factory laws

compare favourably with the laws of the other great industrial nations. But there are still areas in which there is need for improvement, and in these areas the settlement can make a contribution.

By the terms of the Indian Factory Act, a 'factory' is 'an establishment using power and employing on any one day more than 19 persons', though the Provincial Governments are given the authority to apply the Act to establishments employing 10 persons, regardless of whether power is used or not. The minimum age for employment is 12, and no child under 15 can be employed for more than 6 hours per day. Safeguards are provided to prevent a child from being employed in two factories at the same time. Hours of work are limited to 11 a day, with a maximum of 60 per week, with an hour's rest interval and a holiday at least every 10 days. Women's work is regulated; sanitary and safety measures provided for, and penalties stipulated for the breach of the Act. The chief factory inspector of each province is responsible for the administration of the Act.

The widespread abuses prevalent in the small workshops make it very clear that the Factory Act should be extended to include establishments employing 10 or more persons on any day in the year. The Nagpada Neighbourhood House is at present collecting data on small workshops in its own neighbourhood. If this material could be supplemented by reports from other industrial centres in India, there would then be a reliable body of fact upon which to base the demand for action.

The extension of the Factory Act would of necessity mean an increase in the number of inspectors, for at the present time the staff is not adequate to meet the demands made upon it. If there were in every industrial neighbourhood qualified volunteers who could offer themselves for this service, the task of Government would be much lighter. In other countries the settlement has been able to furnish such assistance; but in India the settlement is not yet ready.

As a friend and neighbour to Labour, the settlement knows the effect of long hours upon the home-life of the workers. It believes that the workman is entitled to have time for recreation and time to perform some of the duties of a parent. In the West, the 8-hour day has been accepted as a standard. In India it does not seem possible to come immediately to the 8-hour day, but agitation should be undertaken for the 10-hour day and the 55-hour week. Other measures about which the public should be educated concern the difficulties connected with securing employment, and the desirability both for securing factory officers responsible for the engagement of labour and for labour exchanges whereby unemployed men may be directed towards suitable vacancies ; the manner in which fines are at present levied, and the necessity for a fair and equitable standardization ; the need for minimum wage legislation and a proper system of maternity benefits ; the provision of adequate facilities for the conciliation of labour disputes ; and the proper function of trade unions. The number of public platforms available for the discussion of such problems is extremely limited.

The number of serious strikes in Bombay during 1928 and 1929, and the Bombay riots of 1929 convinced the Nagpada Neighbourhood House that some effort must be made to bring about a better understanding between the various groups in the city. We felt that too many citizens were thinking wholly in terms of *getting* from the city, and not in terms of *giving* to the city. Accordingly we arranged a series of public lectures on the general topic, "Building a Better City", for the cold season of 1929-1930. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, presided at the opening lecture of the series, when the Municipal Commissioner for the City of Bombay spoke on the topic, "The Municipality and the Citizen". In the second lecture an Editor of *The Times of India* spoke upon the function of the newspaper press in any programme of city building. A leading Hindu political leader discussed

“Communalism and the City,” under the chairmanship of a Muslim Justice of the Bombay High Court. The Editor of *The Indian Social Reformer* showed the importance of social work in any scheme of civic betterment. The Principal of Wilson College emphasized the importance of education in promoting better understanding. A representative of the Bombay Millowners’ Association explained the difficulties confronting the Bombay Millowners, and a representative of Labour in the Legislative Council analysed the reasons for industrial discontent in the city. In the final lecture, the Director of the Neighbourhood House summarized the preceding lectures and emphasized the vitalizing function of religion in any programme of city building. The series attracted wide public interest, and stimulated real thought upon Bombay and her problems. Through an extension of this type of programme, the settlement can perform a real civic service.

Although the settlement is not a political agency, it cannot remain indifferent to political interests. Historically, it has taken its full share in opposing corrupt politicians and rallying neighbourhood support to men who were definitely committed to civic betterment. It has encouraged voters to exercise their privilege of voting and to vote in an intelligent fashion. The settlement, however, has not allowed itself to become the tool of any party or of any special interest group. Its chief political concern has been an educative one—an attempt to help its constituency to see the major interests in each campaign, and not to be blinded by the dust of the big parade. In India, where men vote according to symbols, with little or no knowledge of the issues involved in the election, the settlement has an educational opportunity of a high order.

In its regular Saturday night debates, the Nagpada Neighbourhood House provides a free platform for the discussion of public questions. The speakers and topics are selected a week in advance, and the discussions have proven of considerable value in bringing out the principal issues of important public questions. When

a man has to defend his statements, he is much more inclined to seek out *facts* than when he engages in street corner arguments. And when a goodly number of young men are engaged in seeking truth, the result is both wholesome and stimulating.

In practically every city of size a 'vice district' exists in close proximity to the homes of working class people. The so-called good citizens are generally content to have it so. They prefer that other people's children shall be exposed to organized vice rather than their own children. Few will admit the possibility that a combination of all forces would greatly minimise the chances of exposing any class. Settlement workers, however, have both personally opposed and attempted to organize movements against commercialized vice. They have had to combat apathy within the neighbourhood and opposition without the neighbourhood, but in many cases they have been successful. The first *City Morals Commission* in America—the forerunner of the modern *Vigilance Association*—was organized largely through the efforts of a settlement resident. In the larger cities of India, Vigilance Societies have already been organized, but a tremendous amount of work still remains to be done in the field of public education. In the smaller industrial centres the settlement opportunity is wide open.

In the movement for national Prohibition the settlement must play its part. The great majority of the population are in favour of Prohibition, but a determined minority—and revenue considerations—appear to be thwarting the will of the people. The situation cannot last. Sooner or later the will of the majority will prevail, but until that day comes the settlement must take its full part in the struggle. The chapter written by the settlements in the prohibition movement in the United States is a noteworthy one and a chapter worthy of emulation.

The matter of industrial housing is another subject upon which the settlement can speak with authority. In the previous chapter we have referred to the attempts

of the settlement to improve local housing conditions. But the settlement would indeed be selfish if it were interested simply in its own neighbourhood. It well knows that the same conditions which militate against wholesome family life in its area are preventing families in other sections from attaining to health and happiness. When public bodies begin to talk about housing reform the settlement is right at hand with accurate information regarding existing conditions and suggestions for improvement. The Nagpada Neighbourhood House has recently co-operated with the Bombay Council of Social Workers in preparing a Memorandum on Bombay Housing for the Royal Commission on Labour, and gave oral evidence before the Commission on the same subject. The results of overcrowding, when carefully tabulated and presented as specific cases, form an unanswerable argument for immediate and far-reaching reforms in industrial housing.

The settlement has opinions upon the administration of public charity, upon the prevention of juvenile delinquency and crime, upon education and upon the problems of poverty. It has a definite point of view upon caste, child-marriage, the rights of women, and other specific problems which are facing Indian society. It believes that if brotherhood is good for the neighbourhood, it is also good for the world; and it is opposed to war, as the supreme denial of brotherhood.

The settlement is not simply in opposition. It takes a definite, constructive attitude towards public questions. Through lectures, through classes, through the press and through its own publications it attempts to carry out a programme of education. It does not expect that all of the ideas which it sponsors will meet with public favour. It does not close its platform to those with whom it disagrees. What it does want is that people may have the opportunity of becoming acquainted with public questions. It wants to break down barriers of ignorance and provincialism. It does not want to make up people's minds for them, but it wants to present the materials by which people may make up

their own minds. It is true that highly centralised local and provincial governments allow little opportunity for the exercise of local autonomy, and offer little encouragement for the development of local leadership. But as individual citizens come to take an increased interest in public life, it is quite certain that increased opportunities will offer. The settlement looks forward to this time and attempts to hasten its coming through education.

CHAPTER X. THE SETTLEMENT FUTURE.

IN the preceding pages, we have attempted to outline some of the educational possibilities of the social settlement, drawing largely from the experience of settlements in other lands. Facing the future of the settlement movement in India, the question naturally arises, "Along what pattern will the Indian settlement follow ? Will it be an exact replica of the West, or will it create a new and distinctive pattern of its own ?" More than likely it will be neither a duplicate nor a new creation, but an adaptation. In the large port cities, the settlement will probably develop very nearly along European lines. In the Nagpada Neighbourhood House at certain hours when the Jews are present in large numbers, it is hard to realize that one is in Bombay and not on the East Side of New York City. But at other times the atmosphere is decidedly Indian. Certain it is that it is difficult to reproduce the simplicity of the village in a city like Bombay. In other large, but less cosmopolitan cities, the settlement will follow more nearly the earlier settlement pattern of smaller buildings and more intimate personal relationships. A third, and very appealing possibility, is that of the village settlement.

In selecting neighbourhoods in which to settle, the early residents generally chose those areas which were lacking in leadership because of the withdrawal of so many of the capable to more favoured sections of the city. Somewhat the same condition prevails in the Indian village to-day. An increasing number of the strong and educated are leaving the village for the city, with a resultant loss of leadership to the village. The extension of the settlement into the villages would do much to bring about a richer and more wholesome village life.

THE SETTLEMENT FUTURE

It may be felt by some that the district missionary is already performing the functions of the settlement resident. In a sense this is true, but there are certain important differences. The district missionary comes into the village with one major purpose—the building up of the Christian community. He lives near the village, but in very few instances can he be said to be *of* the village. He has a large influence among a certain section of the people, but not in the village as a whole. The very nature of his task tends to make his presence a divisive factor.

The settlement, on the other hand, would have as its aim the unification of the whole village. It knows well the difficulties involved, but it is willing to proceed slowly. It will not celebrate its arrival in the village by sending out wholesale invitations to inter-caste dinners, but it will make every attempt to win the friendship of men of different castes. From the beginning the settlement will make it clear that although it believes in religion, its function is not to propagate any particular brand of religion. It rightly delegates that function to the Church.

The Churches in the West have organized settlements definitely committed to the spread of sectarian religion. Some of these settlements have done excellent work among a limited constituency. When people know the purpose of the religious settlement and are willing to accept its offerings, the whole relationship is a perfectly legitimate one. But at the best, the service rendered by the sectarian settlement is a partial one. The non-sectarian settlement has been of real service to the Churches, and at the same time has kept the confidence and contributed to the betterment of the whole community.

The settlement approach to the village will be the same as to the city; *i.e.*, the first step will be that of becoming thoroughly acquainted with village life. But because the village and the surrounding country are so closely related, the survey must also include a study of the fields belonging to the village. Climate,

rainfall, kinds of soil, methods of cultivation, variety and yield of crops, available wells and water supply, will all enter into the study. The number and quality of animals raised will also have to be considered. The economic and cultural welfare of the people must go hand in hand.

The educational programme of the settlement will point definitely towards life. Indigenous village games have the same educational values as imported games. The clubs will be partly cultural, but will be concerned chiefly with immediate village interests. Classes will be for the old and young, and will include such subjects as the care of the soil, manures, the breeding of animals, co-operation, temperance, thrift, sex problems, home-making, cooking, the care and feeding of children, village sanitation, the care of the teeth, the care of the body, diet, the importance of pure water, housing, ventilation, and the prevention of such diseases as malaria, tuberculosis, small-pox, cholera and plague. Literacy will be sought for and reading encouraged. Wide use will be made of music and the drama. The attempt will be made so to broaden village life that it will become well-rounded and symmetrical.

It should be frankly recognized that the whole scheme is an experimental one, and as such it may be doomed to failure. But it is worthy of trial, and the period of trial is very certain to be a time of unusual interest to those who are willing to venture.

But regardless of where the settlement takes root its essential purpose will be the same. Life, and still more abundant life, will be its motto. Starting with the children it will seek to educate, both formally and informally, towards the full stature of the co-operative man. It will "seek to meet and hold young and old within the sympathetic restraints of the neighbourhood circle; to organize and codify the higher moral sentiment of the people so as to assume and safeguard the rights of every individual; to make the neighbourhood in a very substantial degree sufficient unto itself in the supply of worthy fellowship; to secure a range

of educational, recreational, and associational activities sufficiently broad to satisfy the desires, and stimulating enough to call out the higher potencies of every member of the community ; to involve individuals of all ages and types in reciprocal relations of some kinds ; to exercise families as families and neighbours as neighbours, so that every element of individual and collective life may minister naturally, almost automatically, to the upbuilding of each citizen and all together in the local community.”*

The settlement is not a panacea for all ills ; but rightly understood, it is a healing factor.

* Woods and Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

